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Babysitting service with Rent a Grandma



Panic stations in the Krause household. Both children have been taken ill suddenly, and Frau Krause has promised her husband, a doctor, to help out while his nurse is on holiday.

So what now? She cannot both look after the children and her husband's patients. The in-laws are 200 miles away and there is no-one else to do either job.

But then she remembers having seen an advertisement offering a service that calls itself "Rent-a-Grandma". She phones and a few hours later her particular Grandma appears at the door. She is introduced to the children and shown where everything is and Frau Krause is free to help her husband.

A few days later, the children are back on their feet and Grandma goes off duty to await another call, having been presented by Frau Krause with a tea service and a bouquet of flowers.

The initiator of Rent-a-Grandma is Beate Kramer, 30, a part-time stewardess and herself a mother to two. She got the idea a few months ago when she read an article about a similar service in Paris operated by Yvon Léon, a 70-year-old social worker. Madame Léon's service caught on instantly and became so popular that the city decided to subsidise ist.

Beate Kramer asked herself why what works in Paris should not also work in Hamburg. She quickly decided to place an advertisement in a Hamburg daily asking elderly women who liked children and were prepared to help out free of charge to write to her. The response was good and several "dear old ladies" reported for duty.

Eventually radio and the press reported on the unusual service and more and more elderly ladies who were still too active to sit back and twiddle their thumbs got in touch with Frau Kramer. Many of them were former nurses and kindergarten teachers — just right for the job.

Meanwhile, hundreds of people have called the service.

It snowballed and Frau Kramer had to set aside a room as an office. One wall has been given over to a huge map of the city — a sort of campaign map with little flags showing the location of Grandmas and applicants. Whenever somebody phones in to ask for the services of a Grandma, she can see at a glance who is closest and available. At present, the monthly rate of "rentals" stands at 130.

But it was all too good to be true. Only the Federal Labour Office is permitted to operate an employment agency in Germany so took only a few weeks before representatives of this government agency knocked on Frau Kramer's door to check on her activities.

But it turned out that they had no leg to stand on because the Grandmas receive no fixed pay, though it is taken for granted that they will receive a thank you in some form. Beate Kramer herself charges only her expenses (DM 10 per month and child). So far, however, she has always had to add her own money to keep the operation going. But she hopes that,like in Paris, her agency will soon receive support from the city fathers — especially since the City Youth Authority has also started using the service.

At home with child, the woman who started it all: Beate Kramer. (Photo: APSl[illegible])

Incidentally, word of Rent-a-Grandma has even reached the President, who has received Frau Kramer as a "meritorious citizen".

But what about the qualifications of the Grandmas and Beate Kramer herself? Frau Kramer's only qualification is common sense. "This is also all that the families wanting to rent a Grandma expect. I interview the prospective Grandmas and when I feel that I can vouch for them they are on." This simple procedure has never failed.

Most Grandmas are extremely pleased with the way they have been received by "their" families.

After all, both parties benefit by the deal. The Grandmas enjoy being a family again (many of them widows or live alone) and for the parents their services mean that they can temporarily leave their children with a good conscience.

Hamburg's Rent-a-Grandma service has caught on nation-wide. More than 30 women have telephoned in the past few weeks alone to find out how to go about establishing a similar service in their own cities.

A network of sympathy and neighbourly help and a bridge between the generations seems to be spreading across the country.

Inge Nordhoff

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 April 1980)

Continued from page 15

15 million Americans, 10 million Japanese and a million and a half Britons cannot be wrong.

No special attire is required, although golfers tend to be increasingly fashion-conscious. A set of clubs, which lasts for ages, costs between DM500 and DM2,500.

There is no need to buy a complete set. Five irons bought second hand will do. They are carried over the shoulder in a kind of quiver.

Membership of a German club costs an initial fee of up to DM1,000, an annual subscription of DM500 to DM1,000 and, maybe, training at DM15 to DM25 an hour with one of the country's 250-odd golf pros.

Juveniles and students pay a subscription of between DM100 and DM250 a year.

What is more, there are an increasing number of courses where membership is not compulsory. Public courses already exist near Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Waldkirchen in the Bavarian Forest and Braunfels in Hesse.

At municipal courses a round of golf can be played for a daily fee of between DM10 and DM30.

Gerd A. Bolze

(Die Welt, 30 April 1980)

Death comes to a Zoo station hobo

Paul Sanow died this year. Few people knew him, because he was a hobo. Yet at his funeral were camera teams and journalists, fellow hobos and social workers.

The publicity surrounding his death in Berlin began when an obituary appeared in a Berlin daily newspaper.

It read:"Paul Sanow (known as Mouse Paul) died on 15 March 1980, aged 54. For 25 years he lived in and around the Zoo tube station. He was liked but he was frequently beaten up. After having been sent to prison for the 33rd time for disorderly conduct, he has now found a home. Many have contributed to his death."

The obituary was placed by Pastor Gundolf Herz.

The Reverend Herz, who spend many years looking after the homeless, also saw to it that Mouse Paul received a proper funeral instead of being buried anonymously as is customary in such cases.

The funeral with its publicity took place a month after his death.

Said one of Mouse Paul's hobo friends: "No-one gave a damn about him while he was still alive, so where have all these people come from now."

Apart from the people who had come to pay their last respects there were also two TV camera teams and journalists who felt that the event was worth reporting. One of those present poured a bottle of schnapps over the open grave — a unique event at a funeral.

Little is known about Paul Sanow's lfe. But so much is certain; he was an accomplished baker and therewas no reason why he could not have led a normal life. But when his wife died something snapped and Mouse Paul became a hobo. He is said to have frequently stood on the tube platform at the Zoo station, waiting for his daugther to bringt the grandchildren along to say hello. He waited in vain and, in fact, nobody really knows whether the little family he said he expected existed.

In his graveside speech Reverend. Herz said: "He was beaten not only by his drunk fellow hobos but also under the pretext of law and order. Time and again he had to be removed by the police because loitering at the station is an offence. But what was he to do but loiter since he had no home?"

Despite years of effort by citizens' groups, there are no counselling centres and no asylums near the station for people like Paul Sanow. The only place where they can snatch forty winks is the railroad toilet facilities.

Reverend Herz finds it hard to understand that "people who have studied law and who presumably have a heart can prosecute and add misery to misery in the full knowledge that this amounts to using strong-arm tactics against people who cannot defend themselves."

He also deplores the fact that all attempts by social workers to change this situation keep bogging down in red tape although the necessary funds are available. Reverend Herz does not spare his own church, either.

But then he admits that he, too, has difficulties at times dealing with people like Mouse Paul without bias. He asks himself whether he has always made the right use of his resources and abilities.

He called on the people who had come to pay their last respects to Mouse Paul to review their attitude towards their fellow man and, addressing himself to the law, said that should not only apply the provisions of the law but ask themselves what this does to the people involved.

Herz then asked that a hat be passed to collect money for a gravestone.

Next day, a major Berlin newspaper carried a large report on the funeral saying that the money collected was used to buy heroin. Reverend Herz was outraged at this, and said that he had received the full amount.

Three days later, the same newspaper carried the open letter by a plainclothes policeman and addressed to the Reverend Herz which said: "You demand an [illegible] for the hobos of the Zoo station. So why don't you yourself lend a helping hand. Why don't you open your church and your office to them?

"Would you put up with their vomiting and urinating all over your premises? The truly homeless can always find a roof over their heads. But we cannot accept alcoholics, robbers and thieves settling at the Zoo station.

"Mouse Paul has died because those who wanted to help had nothing but empty words for him. Nobody provided any tangible help. Therefore, Herz, stop talking so much and act."

But this should have been directed not only at the pastor but the people at large.

Jörg Reckmann

(Die Zeit, 2 May 1980)

The German Tribune

Hamburg, 25 May 1980
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East, West begin talking in bid to salvage detente

Nato and the Warsaw Pact, the world's two major military alliances, have just reviewed their ranks in Brussels and Warsaw respectively.

The focus of international attention then switched to Vienna and, again, Warsaw.

In Vienna, for the second time in a matter of days, a political event of altogether different significance, the meeting between US Secretary of State Edmund Muskie and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, was rejigged as a kind of international political salvage mission.

With much the same aim in view a meeting between President Brezhnev of Russia and President Giscard d'Estaing of France was arranged in Warsaw, first under wraps, then hailed as a political sensation.

A week or so beforehand all manner of statesmen engaged in behind-the-scenes talks in Belgrade, where they had gathered for Tito's funeral.

They wondered how to restore detente to an even keel, but America and Russia, the two superpowers, still kept at a demonstrative distance from each other in the Yugoslav capital.

Against this background the meeting between Muskie and Gromyko in Vienna must be regarded, if not as a sensation, then at least as progress.

The two men were in the Austrian capital to commemorate the silver jubilee of the treaty that restored Austrian independence and guaranteed its neutrality.

What Mr Muskie and Mr Gromyko had to say to one another is a closely-kept secret, but other Western foreign ministers also conferred with Mr Gromyko at Vienna, so at least the lines of East-West communication have been kept open.

Which way do they lead? That remains to be seen. The gatherings of the two military pacts have made it clear that in the military sector the trend is seemingly towards a tougher outlook.

In the wake of the Warsaw Pact summit there is no need to doubt that the old Soviet tactics hold good as well as ever.

Military advantages established on the quiet are suddenly made out to be non-negotiable and an inviolable part of the new balance of power.

When the West follows suit with whatever development it happens to be, it is subjected to propaganda fire and brimstone as an enemy of detente.

Why should Western medium-range nuclear missiles be any more dangerous than those maintained by the East bloc? This non-sequitur makes it extremely difficult to embark on a serious defence policy dialogue.

The Vienna MBFR troop cut talks have been in progress for seven years and in effect are still marking time. On both sides in Central Europe the trend seems to be towards rearmament and re-equipment. So there is scant leeway for optimism.

Appeals for a fresh conference on military detente or disarmament are unlikely to make much change to this fundamental state of affairs.

There will have to be results in the political sector before progress can be expected on detente and defence, and in this respect Vienna gives cause for cautious optimism.

From Warsaw a proposal was made for an international conference to settle conflicts. More particularly, and maybe more promisingly, the Afghan government has offered to hold peace talks with Pakistan and Iran.

Both moves have a certain signal value. The East bloc is signalling its readiness to seek negotiated solutions to current international crises, including Afghanistan.

A crucial addition was the completely surprising encounter between M. Giscard d'Estaing and Mr Brezhnev on neutral ground. They are reported to have discussed Afghanistan first and foremost.

At first glance the international conference proposal may seem impracticable. Both in Vienna and elsewhere a sceptical view was taken of the Afghan regime's peace overtures. Yet both offers are offers of talks about talks and form a basis that ought not to be dismissed out of hand. An international conference to cater for crises first brings to mind UN competitors in this line of business, and endless UN palavers there have been! But any such gathering would include not only the two blocs but also the nonaligned countries, and they were

Continued on page 6



The new American Secretary of State, Edmund Muskie, chats with Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Vienna. The occasion, the 25th birthday of the post-war Austrian state, gave Mr Muskie the opportunity to meet several of his counterparts. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Olympic committee decisive on Moscow boycott support

The West German National Olympic Committee has decided by a clear margin, 59 to 40, in favour of an Olympic boycott.

Little mention was made of the Ugly German, and the mention was not sustained. The debate was fair and of a fairly high standard.

Last-minute tactics such as a visit to West German sports officials by their East German counterparts and a letter to Sports League president Willi Weyer by SPD general secretary Egon Bahr (of which only carbon copies seemed to exist) made no difference to the outcome.

The recommendations made by Chancellor Schmidt, the Bundestag and the head of state had long constituted a preliminary decision.

The two views were represented by Willi Daume, NOC president, and Weyer.

Herr Daume was in favour of taking part because politics was a matter of short-term targets, whereas the Olympic movement must keep long-term targets in mind.

Herr Weyer, pro-government and pro-boycott, accompanied his arguments with an extra barb. The International Oylmpic Committee, he said, had always been tough towards weak countries and weak towards strong ones.

Yet sports officials resented having to reach a decision. Klaus-Dieter Güse, from Hanover, president of the Fencing Association, expressed this view most succinctly: "We are not free to decide. In this instance freedom is an empty formula."

Sport had finally been reduced to the status of a handmaiden of foreign policy. Horst Korber from West Berlin made one of the most impressive speeches.

He doubted whether advocates of taking part in the Moscow Games were doing Berlin a good turn. For the Soviet Union sports policies had always been identical with foreign policy, so he was against taking part.

The debate has not yet reached its conclusion, however. It will be resumed before long — in this country at least.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 May 1980)

EEC decision to impose sanctions on Iran 'no feeble compromise'

Foreign ministers of the EEC managed to convey an impression of half heartedness in their announcement that they would make good the threat of imposing sanctions on Iran.

It is all too easy to dismiss it as a typical Common Market response; the European Community never manages to accomplish more than feeble compromises.

This may as a rule be true, but not in this instance. The Naples compromise is not, as usual, the result of a balance being struck between national interests.

It is an attempt to arrive at a solution to a common dilemma. All foreign ministers of the Nine are convinced sanctions will achieve no headway towards the aim of bringing about the release of the US hostages.

Indeed, they are worried this ambition might be deferred even more by sanctions and that sanctions will, moreover, hurt the West.

They took a half-hearted decision counter to their convictions but in the hope of keeping the damage to a minimum while showing their solidarity with America, their ally immediately affected.

So the compromise is based on two points held in common, but it is surely wrong to dismiss it as feeble.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 May 1980)

■ THE WESTERN ALLIANCE

'Troop pullout' warning lights debate on Nato burden-sharing

The warning shot from Nato secretary-general Joseph Luns' flare gun, loaded in the White House and fired in the presence of the Washington press corps, had the expected effect in Europe.

It was dismissed as a mistake, a misunderstanding or an exaggeration by the American press, but it was nonetheless an alarming warning coming from the veteran Dutch Nato official in Brussels.

From now on, reports from Washington quoted Luns as saying, Europeans must come to terms with the idea of "troop withdrawals" by the US from Europe in the event of an acute crisis outside Nato's theatre of action.

On his return to Europe Mr Luns amended his statement to read "forces withdrawals" rather than "troop withdrawals." This subtle distinction did little to clarify matters.

It was so subtle that few people could make out any difference, so he explained that what he meant was that US naval units might be withdrawn from the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

They would be redirected to the Indian Ocean to establish a US counterweight to the Red Fleet off the Persian Gulf and along maritime routes.

This was the signal for a general, non-committal debate on future Nato policy as a whole. Which armed forces might the United States pull out of the Nato theatre?

The assumption was, of course, that at some future date there would be an East-West confrontation between the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea or along the tanker routes across the oceans.

But the entire debate resurrected the old issue of burden-sharing by America and Europe within Nato.

It is also relevant not only to US naval vessels and equipment stockpiled in Europe but also to the entire range of options for the reinforcement of US forces in the short term on the Continent.

In other words, it affects Nato's entire Reforger programme as envisaged in the event of an emergency.

The Reforger airlift is planned to double US army manpower in Europe and treble within less than three weeks the number of US combat aircraft in Europe.

It was the long-term pride and glory of the long-range defence programme for the next 10 to 15 years solemnly adopted at the Washington Nato summit two years ago.

Were this plan now to be revised to the detriment of Western Europe's defences or made subject to other crisis requirements the United States might have, the Nato reinforcement plan would forfeit much of its mainstay function.

That was why Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel on the eve of the Brussels Nato summit was quick to note, in connection with the special gathering of European Nato members, that the 1978 programme remained the "guideline" for joint planning.

But he was unable to say to what extent the Americans might, given the necessity, fail to toe the line so as to be able to deploy their scant expeditionary reserve outside Europe.



On 14 April the mind behind the entire programme in Washington, Robert Komer, a former ambassador who is now under-secretary for alliance affairs at the Pentagon, made an important statement to members of Nato's defence planning committee in Brussels.

He said that in the event of a confrontation outside Europe units earmarked as reinforcements for US forces in Europe might be deployed outside the Nato theatre to ensure swift deployment of US fighting strength in a crisis area.

The Americans are further away than the Russians from both the Middle East and South-West Asia, so they have less time to waste.

So if the US divisions and USAF squadrons were flown not to Europe but to the Persian Gulf or the Arabian peninsula, they would have to be replaced in Europe by European substitutes.

To do this the European members of Nato would need to mobilise their own reserves faster than either envisaged or currently possible.

This is something US Defence Secretaries have been calling for consistently for the past 15 years, seriously starting in 1965 when American sent troops into Vietnam.

But the Russian invasion of Afghanistan has brought about a new situation. It could at any time lead to a swift and general risk of war.

It would only need Soviet troops to invade Iran to close in on the Iranian coastline of the Persian Gulf or for the Red Fleet to try and blockade sea links with the West.

Neither eventuality is regarded as at all probable any longer at Nato headquarters in Brussels — any more than is a Soviet bid to break a US naval blockade of Iran.

But Nato depends on oil from the Persian Gulf and Europe at least will remain dependent for some time to come, so preparations must be made for contingencies of this kind.

What is more, from 1983 or 1984 the Soviet Union is expected to be importing oil from the Gulf, competing with the West for the oil that is marketed.

Starting this year, oil output in the Middle East is unlikely to be further increased, whereas all estimates indicate that Western demand will continue to increase steadily.

The Nato conference in Brussels dealt not only with adjusting the pact's defence planning to the changing international situation and with new prospects of insecurity in the 80s.

It was also intended as a political demonstration to warn off Moscow from embarking on new ventures beyond the bounds of the current Soviet sphere of influence.

The joint session of Nato Foreign and Defence Ministers was called to signal a response to the occupation of Afghanistan by the Red Army.

The East bloc was to be reminded that although the North Atlantic pact might be happy to pursue detente and ready to negotiate, Nato was also able to fight if the Russians were to reach out for the Persian Gulf oil.

Joseph Luns conferred with President Carter on Nato policy the week before the Brussels summit and sought to reaffirm and reiterate in the Belgian capital past warnings by the US President that any such bid would mean war and nuclear escalation.

Mr Luns sounded convinced the Russians had got the message and would in all probability exercise greater restraint in future so as not to throw the gauntlet at the West.

But this expectation is shrouded in a twilight of ambiguity. Since January Nato has cut anything but an impressive figure in the world.

The malaise in relations between America and Western Europe has grown increasingly apparent with increasing talk of solidarity and burden-sharing, division of labour and consultation.

US Defence Secretary Harold Brown went well beyond his powers in discussions before flying across the Atlantic to Brussels.

He called on other Nato members not only to step up their military contributions but also to lend America greater diplomatic and political support.

He demanded Western European economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. This is a practical move the industrialised countries of Western Europe are particularly reluctant to make.

They are more dependent on exports and trouble-free foreign ties than the United States and also in a difficult economic situation.

Even a message of goodwill such as that delivered by Mr Carter's new Secretary of State, Edmund Muskie, to Europe could not be expected to do more than alleviate the crisis of confidence among the Nato allies. European governments look in both directions at once, to Washington and to Moscow, and all were hoping Mr Muskie's encounter with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in Vienna would lead to a resumption of the detente and arms control debate between the superpowers.

Talks on these issues had been abandoned by President Carter in January, but no-one was seriously expecting the Red Army to withdraw from Afghanistan, say, in the near future.

The Nine's proposals for a political arrangement by which Afghanistan's non-aligned status would be restored and guaranteed have likewise failed to make any headway so far.

A number of governments claim to have received signals from Moscow that the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate but the situation itself has not changed in the least.

The most serious issue affecting East-West ties in Europe as far as Nato was concerned had to be the brusque Soviet response to the Nato decision to re-equip with modern medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

There are grounds for hope that the Soviet demand for the withdrawal of the December 1979 Brussels Nato decision has, at least, been slightly scaled down in tenor.

But the prospects of negotiations are as unclear as the political readiness of the Western European countries to allow the new generation of US medium-range missiles to be stationed on their territory when it is finally developed.

The possibility of a freeze in the way of deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles by both sides remains a mere non-committal hypothesis.

It will remain so at least until Chancellor Schmidt, whose idea it was, has aired the proposal in direct talks with President Brezhnev in Moscow.

In the meantime the smaller West European countries are unlikely to be more enthusiastic about the prospect, after 18 months or two years of talks with the Russians (always assuming they come about), of having the new US missiles stationed on their territory.

So insecurity and a somewhat laboured bid to take a combined stand against the East (without exacerbating the situation) were characteristic of the conduct of Nato in spring 1980.

Yet a demonstration of political significance was supposed to make an impression on the world, whereas in fact insecurity came to light even before the conference began in the differing interpretation placed in the Ministerial gathering.

While Americans referred to the political significance of the special session on 14 May as an event and an indicator of Nato's ability to respond, European Nato delegations in Brussels more cautiously referred to a mere routine session.

Diplomatic agreement between Nato allies on either side of the Atlantic was lacking in intellectual and temperamental harmony even more strikingly than they lacked a common figure of speech to denote the purpose of the gathering.

Too much harsh talk on both sides of Atlantic

There has been too much talk and talk too strident on both sides of the Atlantic ever since the decision on 12 December 1979 to develop the new generation of medium-range missiles.

Too many unforeseen and unforeseeable events (although the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan cannot be said to have come like a bolt out of the blue) have occurred.

Dependence on continuation of detente policy is evidently widespread in Western Europe. It forges a common bond over and above all national differences.

Europe may not rely on detente at any cost but it would certainly prefer it on account of the better atmosphere in the uneasy context of East-West tension.

Lothar Ruehl
(Die Zeit, 16 May 1980)

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■ STATE ELECTION

FDP failure tempers SPD elation

The SPD emerged the big winner of North Rhine-Westphalia's state election on 11 May. The CDU lost heavily and remains in the Opposition (where it has been since 1966). The FDP failed to take the 5 per cent hurdle and won no seats after 14 years of coalition with the SPD. The Greens (ecologists) also failed to get past the 5 per cent hurdle.

Concern over the fate of their FDP coalition partner in Bonn and Düsseldorf has prevented the Social Democrats from revelling in their victory in the North Rhine-Westphalia Land election this month.

The CDU, severely defeated, now pins its hopes on being able to make the FDP panic.

North Rhine-Westphalia has been engulfed by a political mood which even the Social Democrats did not expect. All the elements that were usually felt in other regional and local elections were swept away by this tide.

The CDU's hapless attempt to make *Land* policy its main issue has foundered. The FDP, which had hoped to surmount the 5 per cent hurdle, disappeared in the vortex.

It is no longer represented in the State Assembly. And the "Greens" (ecologists) have been reduced to the hard core well below the 5 per cent mark. In fact, none of the local issues such as educational reforms, etc. had any effect on the outcome.

And what about the riots in Bremen? The electorate ignored them and they, too, were swept away by the tide.

The election was dominated by the one and only issue: the Chancellor's policy and the jeopardy in which it is placed by Strauss. In fact, the North Rhine-Westphalia polling turned into a Schmidt election.

For the first time in its history, North Rhine-Westphalia's SPD performed better than in national elections — a phenomenon at odds with all previous experience, which shows that the Chancellor's party usually has a hard time rallying support in North Rhine-Westphalian elections.

Exactly the opposite happened this time. Followers of the conservative opposition stayed away from the polling booths while highly motivated Schmidt supporters cast their votes for the SPD. There were many CDU and FDP voters among them.

Why was the FDP defeated? It certainly cannot be due to the quality of its policy and its team, although its top candidate, Liselotte Funcke, can hardly be termed a ball of fire.

But her bungled campaign might have had something to do with the defeat. Like the CDU, the FDP underestimated the emotional effects of national policy; and the liberals seized upon Strauss as an issue when it was too late.

Unlike in the Saar, the FDP failed to provide anti-Strauss CDU voters with a bridge.

The FDP avowal of liberalism and responsibility rallied dyed-in-the-wool FDP voters but failed to capture other votes.

In state elections, with their constantly changing lines of argument, this can rarely be achieved through political programmes. But then, programmes have never been the FDP's strong point.

Unfortunately, the FDP comes into the limelight when coalitions are at stake and when the objective is to prevent an absolute majority. But most of all, attention focuses on it when it is in danger of being wiped out.

The FDP failed to make use of these facts in North Rhine-Westphalia, having been lulled into a false feeling of safety by opinion polls.

The two decisive factors of the North Rhine-Westphalia polling — the SPD's absolute majority in the State Assembly and the foundering of the FDP on the 5 per cent hurdle — remained unmentioned as a possibility in the campaign. It never occurred to the voters who favour the Coalition that the FDP might need bolstering.

These voters are mobile and can be re-captured provided the FDP does not start flirting with the CDU. The liberals must therefore be wary of the lure cast out by CDU politicians in the form of coalition offers.

Any such flirt would cause a panic in the liberals' own ranks and uncertainty among the electorate.

Pro-Coalition voters want Chancellor Schmidt and the SPD-FDP coalition; but they do not want an absolute majority for the SPD. In fact, the SPD itself is afraid of this.

This is 1980 and not 1961 when the FDP took advantage of the general mood with its slogan: "For the CDU but without Adenauer."

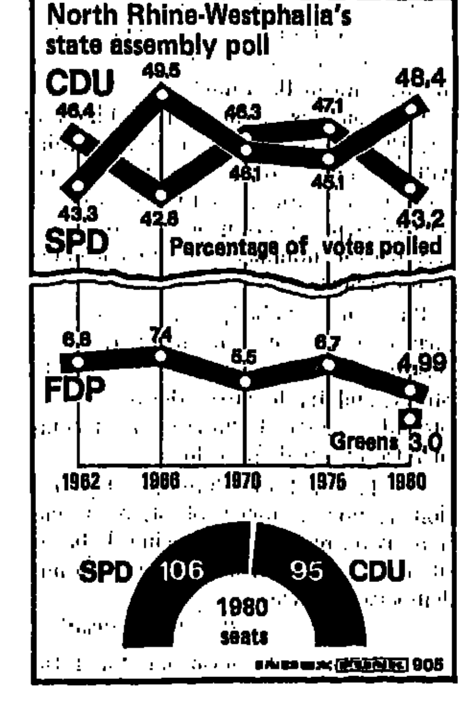
Today, a slogan that said "Without Strauss" could work while no slogan opposing Schmidt would stand a chance.

Nobody can today win an election with an anti-Schmidt slogan. Besides, it takes no great effort on the part of the FDP to identify itself with the Chancellor's policy which is virtually identical with that of Genscher or Lambsdorff.

This being so, it is inadvisable for the FDP to engage in a coalition tug-of-war only to prove its independence. If such a war were directed aganst the Chancellor it would harm both the SPD and the FDP.

What might stand a chance of success is to modify the SPD slogan in North Rhine-Westphalia: "Keep the Chancellor's back covered — even against his own party."

In North Rhine-Westphalia, it was not a wrong coalition that spelled disaster for the FDP but its inability to get across the role it played in this coalition.



The Saar model of a CDU/FPD coalition might be emulated in some other *Länder* after the 1980 national election, but such a model is unsuitable for use on a national scale — at least as long as Schmidt's authority as chancellor remains intact and continues to reflect FDP ideas.

Like the FDP, the CDU finds it hard to combat the widespread belief that voting for Schmidt is the best crisis management.

After the 11 May election the objective for many Christian Democrats will no longer be to topple and replace the Schmidt-Genscher government but to enable Strauss to be defeated in a manner that will inflict the least damage on the CDU/CSU.

Those who were too weak last summer to stop Strauss from standing for the chancellorship should now at least be strong and wise enough to retain him for the CDU/CSU campaign. Still, never in their history have the conservatives entered a campaign with so much defeatism.

If Strauss has his way, this will change now. He has already pinned partial blame for the North Rhine-Westphalia defeat on Biedenkopf and his campaign strategy. He is right insofar as Biedenkopf stubbornly maintained that what mattered in North Rhine-Westphalia was state policy and continued to do so as the national policy tide swept over him. This put him hopelessly on the defensive.

But this does not answer the question whether an offensive dispute with the chancellor and the issue of peace would have led to better results for the CDU.

Strauss has already announced a toughening of the CDU/CSU stance in the national campaign. He wants to mobilise those voters in North Rhine-Westphalia who abstained or cast their ballot for the smaller of the two coalition parties.

Anyone nurturing such hopes evidently believes the fallacious contention that a leftist government is at the helm in Bonn — a contention vociferously put forward by Strauss' *Bayernkurier*.

The fact is that Bonn's policy is an all-party policy approved of by many CDU members.

The political discussion — as long as it steers clear of visions of doom for the Western world and still uses sound arguments — is backed by both coalition partners. In this discussion the FDP has assumed the role of a moderate CDU — a CDU that entails no risks and one without Strauss.

If the CDU/CSU actually gets tougher in its campaign it will find itself in an outsider role that can never get a majority.

It might perhaps motivate a few more voters than it did in North Rhine-Westphalia but it would frighten away a great many undecided voters.

Whatever the CDU decides at its forthcoming congress in Berlin and whatever it does to absorb the shock of North Rhine-Westphalia — be it a demonstration of solidarity, a nation wide counter offensive, the announcement of a platform or the naming of a team — it just cannot rid itself of Strauss, its ball and chain.

And, to make matters worse, such a riddance would be most inadvisable.

If the FDP keeps a cool head it should be able to come up with a reason why it is necessary to vote for the liberals after the North Rhine-Westphalia defeat: not only to stop Strauss but also to secure the survival of the FDP and prevent the SPD from gaining the absolute majority.

There is no such consolation in the offing for the CDU/CSU. *Rolf Zundel*
(Die Zeit, 16 May 1980)



Johannes Rau
(Photo: Hans Windeck)

The candid victor

Johannes Rau's two years as Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia were as lustreless as his election victory on 11 May was dazzling — even though the SPD did not emerge as strong as in 1966.

But unlike then, the Social Democrats came out with an absolute majority of seats in the state assembly, thanks to the defeat of the FDP.

The fact that, they managed only 48.4 per cent of the poll is easily forgotten.

Herr Rau's statement that the election outcome was undeservedly good was not only effective in terms of public relations but honest as well.

For the devout protestant with a pious penchant, this reaction might have engendered a blend of depression and happiness over the fact that his decent reaction has value.

This is where the secret of his success lies so far as it is attributable to his person. In all likelihood, however, it was essentially a victory of his party, buttressed by the Chancellor and his campaign.

It was the victory of the party which has been able to convince the electorate that it is more likely than any other to continue on a course of formal democracy and material equality of those who now feel placed at a disadvantage.

Deep within himself, Herr Rau might doubt the meaningfulnell of the latter.

Johannes Rau, whose very bearing displays dynamism, is friendly to everyone. Those who disagree with him are sure to meet with interested curiosity. He considers himself recompensed for concessions thus made in the knowledge that he is intellectually almost the equal of his rival in the SPD, Diether Posser, with whom he maintains a somewhat stiff friendship.

Of course Posser, on the other hand, has had the better education, while Rau's background lies in a bookstore and in publishing. Posser is a prominent lawyer.

Rau, the son of a preacher, is essentially conciliatory and yet a man who sticks to principles.

The party, with its intellectual wing and its grassroots of blue-collar workers in the Ruhr region, will confront him with a particularly difficult task now.

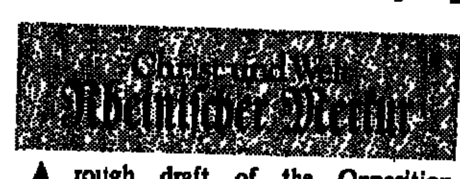
What stance is the prime minister to take between those who demand radical change and those who want to preserve the status quo as long as they can continue to devote themselves to their carrier pigeons, go the local after work and know that wages will rise year after year?

Rau's statement about the undeserved election victory could soon be reversed by his asking: "Do I deserve the burden of such a victory?" *Friedrich Karl Fromme*
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 May 1980)



■ THE PARTIES

Opposition's poll manifesto 'hurriedly put together'



A rough draft of the Opposition CDU/CSU election manifesto has finally been released. And it shows the stress that the party has been labouring under.

The haste with which the programme was put together is obvious. The editors did not even take the time to bring some order into their sequence of argument.

In its outward appearance the programme resembles a precipitately put together mosaic of excerpts from the speeches of Franz Josef Strauss, the CDU/CSU's candidate for the chancellorship.

This obviously detracts from the poignancy of the programme, making it less convincing.

But after some effort it is still possible to distil the essential elements from the 40-page document.

The programme opens with a preamble which deals primarily with the seriousness of the general situation. It describes the dangerous development of an aggressive potential by the Soviets while at the same time rejecting any policy that would frighten the public.

The conservatives are bound to be aware of the fact that such passages could be understood as a contradiction. In fact, it is doubtful whether this bleak description of the international situation will be of any benefit to them.

It is an established fact by now that the electorate gathers around the Chancellor rather than Strauss in times of crisis. Thus the foreign policy section of the preamble could well prove a boomerang and ultimately benefit the Chancellor.

The very first sentence demonstrates this: "Like the second and the fifth decades of our century, the 1980s will probably be the third crisis decade."

The second decade brought the First World War, and the fifth World War II.

In historic terms, the decline of the Weimar Republic, the events that preceded World War II and the Korean and Cuban crises would have deserved mention.

Another somewhat curious aspect is that the authors emphatically refuse to draw a parallel between our present international situation and the years that preceded World War I. It would seem a plausible explanation that the first sentence was not exactly the result of deep thought.

The term "peace policy", which seemed reserved for Willy Brandt for a while, now crops up again with the rider "realistic".

This is contrasted with the socialist and Soviet détente policy without explaining how the two are linked.

Still, the programme says that the Soviet Union expanded its military might particularly in the years of détente. This is amplified by the statement that the conservatives would base their policy on existing the treaties.

For the rest, the dominant mood is marked by scepticism regarding détente. Disarmament, the programme states, will not prevent a war and détente coupled with arms limitation is an instrument of power for the Communist camp. But the programme nevertheless expressly supports détente.

Concerning freedom, the paper is marked by timidity. Peace, it says, must be considered in jeopardy as long as Europe's oil supply remains insecure. Conversely, this would imply that peace would be secured should oil flow richly. But this can hardly apply in a country faced with the permanent aggression of the Wall and the barbed wire border.

The programme has separated the German and the European questions. It terms the re-establishment of German unity the foremost objective without mentioning European unity as its precondition.

All in all, the conservatives once more staunchly back the West and Nato, stressing that they are prepared to support other members of the Alliance in "strengthening their defences".

Regarding *Deutschlandpolitik*, the programme tersely states: "We want the German National Foundation in Berlin."

Berlin's ties with the Federal Republic of Germany are to be tightened, and this is likely to meet with stiff opposition — not only from the East but from the West as well.

Domestic policy is marked by reservations regarding finance. Nothing is to be promised that cannot be paid for.

Thus the programme does not promise a cutback in state indebtedness but only a curb on further debt.

For an election programme there is a fair bit of courage in this — but what a pity that such good resolutions have been so poorly drafted.

And what a pity that nothing is said about whether the whole package of promises in the family affairs sector will fall prey to the finance minister's veto.

The "new social issue" is also mentioned — and that, too, is bound to cry out for money.

It is generally known what the conservatives have in mind but their plans might well remain plans only for lack of money.

Much space has been devoted to problems concerning women — especially mothers who are "only" housewives.

Another major point concerns the family, which is to be supported in its struggle for self-assertion within society.

The programme is unequivocal — though in a somewhat muddled way — on the nuclear energy issue.

A "balance between small, medium

Continued on page 6

Result boosts image of the Chancellor

The Social Democrats' clear win in the North Rhine-Westphalia *Land* election this month leaves the Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, with a public image and reputation that can be compared to Adenauer's.

The poll was a Waterloo for the CDU. Few expected the spectacular gains by the SPD.

Now, the Shadow Chancellor, Franz Josef Strauss, should accept responsibility that, due to his personality, he will achieve the opposite of what he wants.

He wants to put socialism in its place. Now he could actually promote it by causing more people to vote for Schmidt.

This, in turn, could make Schmidt give more leash to the leftists in his party through his own strengthened position.

The drama of this election day, in which the FDP fought for survival, will occupy national policy makers in the weeks to come.

The outcome could easily cause a domestic policy tremor centred around Strauss. There is every indication that the North Rhine-Westphalia electorate cast its vote with national issues in mind, thus anticipating the outcome of the Strauss-Schmidt tug-of-war in the autumn.

The campaign strategy of the North Rhine-Westphalia SPD, which put national importance on the result, was sound.

The SPD had warned of the danger of a two-thirds majority of the CDU/CSU in the Bundesrat (Upper House) and told the voters that they should cast their ballot for the SPD if they wanted to strengthen Schmidt's position.

The Chancellor's image and reputation have borne fruit as never before.

The international crisis has also played a major role. Not only have the voters rallied around their Chancellor but they have also rewarded him for his astute and circumspect policy.

But what is now to happen with Schmidt's challenger, Franz Josef Strauss? He was the big loser in North Rhine-Westphalia. He got what he had always asked for, a duel with the Chancellor. The defeat was resounding.

Those among the CDU ranks who, after their party lost 5.1 per cent in the recent Saar election, said that it was impossible to win an election with Strauss, have now gained support. CDU Secretary-General Heiner Geissler has already opened the debate on this subject.

And there is indeed no other explanation for the massive shift in North Rhine-Westphalia than that a great many middle-of-the-road voters — including those from the CDU camp — do not want Strauss as chancellor.

The depression in the CDU/CSU will be deep following this poll. How are they now to motivate their members for the national polling and how are they to inspire faith in the future?

The cautious scepticism within the CDU/CSU over the past few months will now turn into resignation. It is even possible that Strauss is toying with the idea of stepping down, leaving the conservatives to nominate a new chancellorship candidate.

But since nobody would have a chance against the incumbent, the conservatives will probably try to stick with Strauss and try to offset the damage by presenting good teammates, as recommended by Ernst Albrecht.

The fact that the Bundestag Opposition is now stripped of strength and hope is no reason for rejoicing. It benefits neither our parliamentary system nor democracy as a whole.

Jürgen Offenbach

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 May 1980)



Kurt Biedenkopf
(Photo: Marianne von der Lan[...])

Loss 'no failure for leader'

North Rhine-Westphalia's CDU [...] again failed to form a governme[nt] after 14 years in opposition.

However, it would be unfair to sp[eak] of a disastrous failure by the par[ty's] State leader, Kurt Biedenkopf, follow[ing] the election on 11 May.

Biedenkopf, an eloquent fighter, i[s a] professor of political science. He [...] nominated to the position only [...] weeks before the election following the death of Heinrich Köppler.

It is doubtful whether the defeat [...] now lead to a discussion on a possi[ble] reshuffle in the State CDU.

Biedenkopf's campaign was too who[le-]hearted for that. Also he enjoys [a] strong position in his party, notwiths[tanding] the left wing. There is nobody in the wings to match him.

SPD leader Johannes Rau, who ha[s] been confirmed as North Rhine-Westphalia's Prime Minister for a five-y[ear] term, will now have to contend with [an] opposition leader in the State Assem[bly] who will challenge him more effectiv[ely] than the more conciliatory Köppler h[ad] done.

The role of opposition leader [in] North Rhine-Westphalia, which has [al]ways had a major bearing on Bonn, is [a] new step in Professor Biedenkopf's ca[reer].

He had, in fact, been mooted as th[e] conservative candidate for the chancel[lorship] and has been making headlines throughout his political career.

At the age of 37 he became rector of the Ruhr University in Bochum; th[is] was followed by the position of chi[ef] executive of a major chemicals firm [in] Düsseldorf. During the Grand Coalit[ion] in Bonn under Chancellor Kurt Ge[org] Kiesinger (CDU) he chaired the Ind[us]trial Co-determination Commission, later becoming his party's most efficient secretary-general. In 1977 he became chairman of the second largest CDU district in Westphalia-Lippe, thus secur[ing] considerable political power in the state.

The FDP defeat came as a major shock for the liberals, not only i[n] Düsseldorf but in Bonn as well.

Unlike the liberals, the Social Demo[crats] in North Rhine-Westphalia entered the election campaign with great opti[mism].

The statistics of State elections since 1978 show SPD gains almost every-where while the CDU has lost votes everywhere except in Berlin.

Fritz Keyser

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 May 1980)

HOME AFFAIRS

Army recruiting day demonstrations break out into violence

The public swearing in ceremony in Bremen of 1000 Bundeswehr recruits triggered clashes between 7000 demonstrators and the police. According to the police, some 50 demonstrators and at least 250 policemen were hurt in the riots, some badly. The ceremony was attended by President Carstens.

Nobody expected the 25th anniversary of Germany's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to give rise to much jubilation.

The day was, after all, overshadowed by the worst crisis the West has faced since the 1962 Cuban debacle. By the same token, nobody expected that the public swearing-in ceremony for 1,200 Bundeswehr recruits would develop into bloody clashes of such magnitude.

The whole thing is frightening. Granted, we have grown used to all sorts of violent demonstrations: against nuclear reactors and storage facilities for their waste and against the guardians of law and order.

Some of these demonstrations have been legitimate and others at least understandable. But never before has the avowal of Bundeswehr recruits to defend their country triggered such riots.

It is still unclear who exactly was behind the Bremen violence. It is hard to separate the rabble rousers from the fellow-travellers.

Any democratic country has the right to defend itself and this presupposes an armed force. And the state can demand of its citizens that they uphold the law. But exactly that was what the troublemakers demonstrated against.

There is reason to be concerned. Until Bremen, it was taken for granted that approval of the Bundeswehr and its necessity was particularly pronounced in times of crises. The general tenet was that troubled times heighten the awareness of the usefulness of the Bundeswehr and the need for its integration in Nato.

In its 1974 White Paper Bonn stated: "There is a close link between the assessment of the international political constellation and that of the Bundeswehr. External threat leads to more approval of the armed forces."

But it is open to doubt now whether this still applies. True, the Bremen events were not typical excesses. Even so, it is hard to shrug off the impression that the public, for fear of a further deterioration of the international crisis, seeks to distance itself from Bonn's security policy.

Defence Minister Hans Apel — little knowing what would face our young soldiers in Bremen — recently spoke of the difficulties of convincing the public of the need for a strategy of military balance of power as a precondition of détente.

Said Herr Apel: "It has become clear that in the past few years some people in our country have unconsciously suppressed the necessity to ponder unpleasant problems of our own security, to draw their conclusions and to be prepared to make personal and financial sacrifices to preserve the balance of power without which peace is not possible."

Herr Apel probably had certain groups in his party in mind. There are quite a few Social Democrats who are no longer prepared to support Bonn's policy.

In fact, there were times at the recent SPD Security Policy Congress in Cologne when it seemed that this group had gained the upper hand. One of the delegates, for instance, said that Germany should promote its own interests in Nato and disregard those of the United States.

Another called for a review of the Nato decision to modernise its medium-range rocket arsenal in Europa and Bonn's simultaneous offer to negotiate on arms control, saying that he failed to see why the Germans should have anything to do whatsoever with the victorious powers' nuclear policies.

And a woman delegate said: "If we need weapons to preserve the peace we're on the wrong track." This was followed by the demand that the destroyers "Lütjens" and "Bayern" be stopped from going on their voyage to the Indian Ocean.

The fear of a major international crisis has thus turned into uneasiness about the Alliance and the obligations it entails.

This uneasiness about Nato has turned inward against the Bundeswehr and its integration in Nato. It almost seems as if the discussion over the arming of the nation that ended more than two decades ago is to be rekindled among Germany's Social Democrats.

The Protestant Church, which has always given equal priority to the right of conscientious objection and the fulfilment of national service obligations, is now — or so it seems — beginning to rethink.

Most outspoken so far have been four Erlangen theologians who, in a memorandum, opposed the established formula "serving peace with and without arms."

The slogan, they hold, is not only politically ineffectual but has become meaningless.

The memorandum, drafted under the impact of the Afghanistan crisis and the danger of a military conflict, culminates in the statement: "National service within the framework of Nato is meaningful only as long as the deterrent functions. It becomes pointless the moment the troops are ordered into action."

It would be the easy way out to reject the theologians' argument by calling it defeatist. But they must permit themselves to be asked how a Bundeswehr soldier is to justify his service to his fellow-citizens when faced with the clear denial that he is in uniform to preserve the peace.

True, a few theologians and a group of opponents of Bonn's security policy among SPD ranks should not worry us. Nor should we worry unduly about the fact that Communists, left-wing extremists and other radicals use every opportunity to undermine our democratic system.

But the Bremen riots clearly showed that the malcontents are not loners. The question now is whether — regardless of the protesters in Bremen — there is a new trend to oppose the Western Al-



liance and upset the broad support needed for the complicated balance of power concept, the prerequisite for peace and détente.

It is difficult to distinguish between objective and emotional opposition. Certainly no German politician or general has said a single word that could be interpreted as provocative since the Afghanistan crisis began. There has been no sabre rattling and there is unlikely to be any.

Yet there are signs of a new "without me" trend. Temptation grows as the hope that survival can be bought burgeons.

But as Churchill once said: "You don't escape danger by turning your back on it."

Hans Schueler

(Die Zeit, 9 May 1980)

Clashes likely to silence military liberals

The riots at Bremen could easily set back progress in the Bundeswehr's efforts to update its traditions and outlook.

Now, a spiteful reactions among soldiers, even the open-minded, would be understandarble.

So too would a reaction of "now more than ever" and a hardening of attitude at this display of intolerance.

What was so bad about the whole affair was that it left Social Democrats and Greens (ecologists) in an involuntary alliance with the political rowdies.

All the former wanted was to demonstrate peacefully.

And all the Bundeswehr wanted was to provide a festive framework for the swearing-in ceremony, attended by the head of state and accompanied by full military honours.

A level-headed commentator of the Bremen events said that swearing-in ceremonies and trumpet solos were as incompatible as a Prussian helmet and a nuclear warhead.

Convincing enough. Perhaps the man is right. The trouble is that the violent demonstrators have made it impossible publicly to discuss his thesis.

What he essentially wants to say is that in the days of cavalry attacks it was probably necessary to emotionally arouse the fighting will of the soldiers. But today this no longer applies.

This is also the attitude of the leftists in Bremen's SPD. They hold that actual military strength does not depend on symbolic acts which only help to create an "unfounded euphoria, the consequences of which would be beyond control."

It has probably always been irresponsible to send men to their deaths through irrational incitement. And anybody who devotes serious though to this will find that there is hardly any difference between Prussian helmet and nuclear warhead.

He will be confronted with the question whether there are rationally explicable and sound reasons to make soldiers swear an oath by telling them that this is military tradition and that their forebears did the same. The tattoo ceremony is justified in the same way: as tradition.

But tradition is the very crux of our particular difficulties. Where does the Bundeswehr's tradition lie — with which of its predecessors?

German troops had a good right to defend themselves against Napoleonic invaders. But what about the princes? They pressed their people into service for self-aggrandisement and gain.

We could just as well leave out the 19th century, when the princes suppressed the citizens' uprising in 1848. We can also skip Bismarck's using the army against the workers.

So far, the Bundeswehr has sought its tradition in the 20th century and has had a hard time with it. Meetings with former World War II officers, the naming of barracks and ships and affairs involving generals have for years blurred the image and, by the same token, aroused public sympathy for the army's problems in dealing with its past.

Committed democrats are irked by the fact that our latest two destroyers have been named after Admiral Lütjens and the fighter pilot Mölders. The one sent a loyalty message to Hitler just before his battleship "Bismarck" went down and the other achieved his first air victories fighting for Franco in the Spanish Civil War.

It was not only committed democrats who found it tasteless that a Bundeswehr band made recordings of SS marches and that a delegation of officers was sent to the funeral of an SS colonel.

On the other hand, many people in this country applauded the naming of an Air Force barracks after World War I flying ace Wilhelm Frankl. He stands for the innumerable Jewish soldiers who died for their German fatherland in World War I.

Germany has no military history to which our military tradition could be pegged without qualms. In fact, we even lack a common understanding of our past — an understanding that would make it possible to accept heroism even of it served to further crimes.

Whether a man who earned the Knight's Cross in the Second World War should or should not wear it with formal dress is a matter of taste.

Most people will not remind the holder of such a decoration that his personal courage helped to prolong mass murder.

So why should we continue to make our Bundeswehr search for a tradition that it can embrace without being arbitrarily selective?

Why should we leave it in the cleft stick of examples of blind obedience and resistance in exceptional circumstances?

The Bundeswehr will only find emotional peace and balance when it stops searching for heroes and banners of the past and concentrates on its own honourable tradition.

After all, this Bundeswehr has for 25 years preserved the peace shoulder to shoulder with the armed forced of the free world.

Hans Schueler

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 May 1980)

THE EEC

Guarantee fund leaves room for manoeuvre with farm cash

We are constantly being told that the EEC will soon be unable to pay for the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) — but the figures tell a different story.

Budget experts in the EEC Commission reckon that community funds — coming mainly from customs duty, agricultural levies and up to one per cent of total VAT income from member countries — will be about DM46bn.

The agricultural guarantee fund, however, only claimed DM26bn last year and by 1981 will hardly need more than DM32bn with which to buy up surpluses. So there is plenty of room for manoeuvre.

The Farmers' Association official who gave me these figures was speaking with his tongue in his cheek because he knew that the Commission would like to reserve funds to deflect them from income guarantees for farmers.

However, his nonchalance was not all an act. Like all the nine ministers of agriculture he is sure that the guarantee fund will in the future be as big as they all — the British minister of agriculture excepted — wish it to be.

Even the failure of the Luxembourg summit conference only increased their sense of security. While the heads of government were meeting, eight of the nine ministers of agriculture agreed on a five per cent farm price increase for the coming year.

If the summit had not broken down because of the United Kingdom's financial demands, the heads of government would no doubt have been relieved that the figure of five per cent had been agreed, even though the Commission says the prices are still too high.

Brussels agricultural experts do not believe that British Minister of Agriculture Peter Walker can keep up his lone stand very much longer. Though he may resists his eight colleagues yet again on May 6, they are almost bound to "talk him round" afterwards.

And so the bankruptcy of the EEC which many have been predicting for so long will not now occur until next year.

In December 1979 the European Parliament rejected the proposed EEC budget for 1980. Commissioner Tugendhat then presented another draft in which all but DM7.9bn of the EEC's funds would have been spent. Of this remaining DM7.9bn, the ministers of agriculture will certainly spend a good DM3bn.

Next year spending on agricultural will go above its traditional level of 70 per cent of total expenditure, because the financial limit has been reached and the budget cannot be increased. The EEC will not then even have more money than it has now for all its other activities. The finance ministers usually make cuts in non-agricultural expenditure, but this will not be enough.

The heads of state and government will have to keep their promise to pay two instead of as now one per cent of total VAT turnover into the community — and they will have to pay this money in advance until the national parliaments have passed the corresponding legislation.

All this would not be and would not sound so dramatic if the CAP, which costs so much money, was worthwhile. But it is not. What the agriculture ministers have made of the common agricultural policy is not an advertisement for the EEC — on the contrary. It is a deterrent against any further European experiments and harms even the little integration that has been achieved to date, because it diverts funds from it.

What might have been achieved in the EEC if the DM50bn spent every year on subsidising the income of its eight million farmers had been spent on industrial and agricultural infra-structure investments in the poorer and weaker regions of the community?

However we would not need to mourn the expenditure of so many billions in subsidies if they had achieved what they were meant to achieve. The guarantee fund has doubled, rising to DM26bn since 1973 (including revaluations) and yet Brussels agricultural experts are more pessimistic than ever about the development of farmers' incomes.

The average income in agriculture has not been raised to the level of industry. From 1968 to 1975, average per capita income of farmers rose at about the same speed as incomes in the rest of the economy but since then they have fallen further and further behind, because they are not rising at all in real terms any more.

The agriculture ministers are now faced with the ruins of their policies. They have to spend more and more billions in subsidies to prevent incomes dropping endlessly. The vicious circle is closing. Pressure and counter-pressure in the Council of Ministers ensure that thanks to the annual increase in producer prices the farmers can keep up with inflation — but no more.

Disregarding devaluation, agricultural support prices today are no higher today than in 1972. In the long run, income can only be increased by improving productivity. The farmer must ensure that he produces more with the same number of workers.

This means producing more surpluses, because the market has long since been unable to absorb all the agricultural products. And thanks to the EEC guarantee system, the farmer can do this.

He can produce as much as he wants without worrying about whether it is sold. He can buy equipment and machines to help him increase production. In a free market without purchase guarantees this would not be possible. Agricultural production has been increasing at any annual rate of over five per cent a year since the EEC began — much faster than the increase in industrial production (three to 3.6 per cent).

EEC farmers have thus made themselves utterly dependent on the EEC guarantee fund. It is a kind of addiction. Every day the farmer takes more, and every day the danger increases that he will collapse if he is deprived of the slightest dose.

Fair enough for the EEC to dispense these addictive drugs if it helps farmers to keep their farms going. But the CAP becomes unacceptable when, in early capitalistic style, it gives preferential treatment to big farmers, shovelling such vast amounts into their profit and loss accounts as to take Commissioner Tugendhat's breath away.

At the same time, small farmers are going to the wall for lack of funds. The system of sales and purchase guarantees permits huge investments and this favours larger farms; only big farms can fully use the productive power of [...]ern equipment. Automatic milki[...] chines mean that one man can [...] cows. And the EEC pays the bill.

The governments in Bonn, Pari[...] the Hague showed that they w[...] premely short-sighted by intro[...] price guarantees precisely for th[...] ducts typically produced on big f[...] milk, wheat, sugar beet, meat. So [...] community makes rich farmers even [...]er.

Among farmers there is gro[...] anger, not only about inadequate inc[...] incomes but about injustice. The [...] income per member of the family is [...] times higher in the Paris basin th[...] Limousin. In Lombardy, it is three [...] higher than in Calabria and Molise.

Nothing has changed here in [...]. As the farmers whose excessive pro[...] tion creams so much out of the gua[...] tee fund mainly happen to come from the wealthier EEC states, the EEC [...] using two-third of its income to w[...] the income gap between its richer [...] poorer members — and it then tries [...] reduce the gap with the remaining [...].

Last year the EEC spent [...] DM12,000 per worker on Belgian [...] culture, DM10,000 on Dutch agricul[...] just under DM6,000 on Da[...] DM3,600 on German, DM2,500 [...] French and only DM1,300 on It[...] agriculture.

The flourishing Danish farm ind[...] produces twice as much sugar as Da[...] consumers need and three and a [...] times as much pork. The Italians [...] the sun and could use the mone[...] the Dutch produce twice as many [...] vegetables as are needed in the Neth[...]lands — in glass houses, at high [...] costs. The Dutch also produce fi[...] as much butter, eight times as [...] veal and more than twice as [...] cheese than they need.

Many agricultural experts now [...] nowledge that there is no long[...] justification for this kind of interv[...]tion. However, any change would [...] a financial sacrifice, especially for [...] fluencial big farmers.

But, as money flows in Brussels, [...] suggest nothing. The collapse of [...] EEC budget is not the real stum[...] block. If the CAP were changed fro[...] price guarantee into a subsidy system [...] would be even more expensive fo[...] while before prices dropped. Yet [...] would still be more reasonable.

The problem is that the EEC's [...] has forced it into an insane system [...] which it is hopelessly and inextric[...] caught.

Winfried M[...]

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 May [...])

CAP — the Farmer's Friend

Farm sales in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1978/79 totalled DM52b[...]

Farmgate prices were guaranteed as fo[...]

EEC market regulations including sales and price guarantees	59%
Market intervention should prices plummet	23%
Tariffs, levies, quotas in respect of non-EEC countries	18%

Continued from page 4

and major enterprises" in our economy is deemed so important as to be mentioned three times, using the same formula.

The programme contains nothing new, and its formulation also sticks to the old mould.

Concentrating on the points on which the CDU/CSU differs from the SPD would have been an alternative worth pondering.

Perhaps the forthcoming CDU/CSU congress will rework the programme somewhat. Given decent editing, the paper could provide a glimpse of the conservatives' profile. That is all that can be expected in an election campaign.

Ludolf Herrmann

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 16 May 1980)

East, West begin talking

Continued from page 1

by no means well disposed towards Moscow on the Afghan issue at the UN.

Besides, at a conference of this kind, the course of which could not possibly be an unending bed of roses for the Soviet Union, conceivable specific results could not be blocked without further ado by the UN Security Council veto mechanism.

Vienna will probably have been a venue at which key points were set for the future course of East-West ties. But there cannot be said to have been a breakthrough.

Secretary of State Muskie's public declaration was decidedly laconic in comparison with the length of his talk with Foreign Minister Gromyko.

He gave nothing away and, if anything, seemed to prompt scepticism. The same could even be said of Brezhnev's surprise meeting with Giscard d'Estaing.

Moscow, after all, traditionally plays the European card when ties with the United States are at a low ebb.

But annoyed though other Common Market countries may be that the French leader decided to go it alone and not even consult his allies beforehand, they consider his move an additional attempt to get the dialogue with the East going again.

All these contacts only go to show that international political responsibility has been recalled in both East and West. Both sides are jointly thinking again how the Gordian knot of crises might be severed.

Thought is being given to the point in Belgrade, Vienna, Warsaw and elsewhere. This is surely a silver lining to the cloud.

Harry Schleicher

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 May 1980)

FINANCE

Banks fear petro dollar loan is new way to plug holes in ledger

[...]im Hankel, Professor of Economics [...] Bologna's John Hopkins University, [...] at the significance behind the [...]eral Republic of Germany's loan [...] Saudi Arabia. And in the same [...]text he puts forward some ideas to [...] the financial burdens of Third World [...]ntries.

[...]he decision to borrow 3bn petro dollars from Saudi Arabia has worr[...]ed banks in the so-called Federal Loan Consortium.

They are afraid what will happen if [...] form of borrowing develops into a [...] method of double-deficit spending [...] plug the federal budget and offset the [...]ance-of-payments deficit.

The amount borrowed in this case is [...]ctly the same as the amount Germa[...] gives in aid to Third World countries [...]dest-hit by oil-price increases.

Now the consortium, so far the only [...] to have profited from federal bor[...]ing, want several questions to be [...]swered.

The first is: can the deal be justified? First, if it is really a fundamental and [...]alienable principle of responsible rat[...] than reckless borrowing that state [...]debtedness is in essence only an [...]vance on secure revenues in the near [...]ture, the finance minister can expect [...]ther deutschemark revenues. But what [...] revenues in petrodollars? For this [...] what he now owes.

After all, this new type of borrowing [...]emains a petro dollar loan — or perhaps [...]ven a loan in Saudi rials — even should the notes be made out in deutschemarks.

The lender is not only located abroad but has the right to exchange his deutschemark notes for any currency that suits him.

The question thus is: how much will the payment of interest and principal [...]st us considering the incalculable [...]onetary and transfer risks of this new financial policy.

Second, the deutschemark has been kept out of virtually all international monetary crisis because it was no reserve currency or, at best, one controlled by [...] Bundesbank (for instance, under the [...]ropean Monetary System, EMS). In [...] event, it has always been a currency [...] short (and some say too short) supply [...] foreigners.

As deutschemark deposits held by [...]eigners grow, our currency becomes [...]creasingly similar to the dollar. Thus it [...] no longer only our monetary and sta[...]bility policy that decides the strength or weakness of the deutschemark exchange rate against other currencies.

International monetary speculation now has a considerable effect on the wellbeing of the German currency and the situation is thus similar to that of the dollar.

So, does the finance minister want to kindle speculation with deutschemarks still further? Is he signalling the end of strong deutschemarks? Does he want [...] increase the depreciation trend of the [...]utschemark, which must anyway result [...]m the current account deficit, by re[...]cing capital assets in the balance [...]et still further?

This would be doing exactly what one [...]n government after another (includ[...] the present one) has been blaming the Americans promoting double inflation by exporting our currency, i.e. inflation abroad on the so-called Euromarkets (whose Euro-DM component will now grow grow even faster) and internal inflation since domestic economy measures can neither fill the hole in the balance of payments nor in the budget.

Was it not Chancellor Schmidt who, when he was "only finance minister", accused the United States of financing the Vietnam war via the inflation rate instead of via taxation and economising?

Third, the tenfold increase of the oil cost in less than eight years has changed the foundations of the economic, monetary and fiscal policies of Germany and all other oil-dependent Western industrial countries. They all have to pay more and more of their real income to the Opec nations.

An energy pauper such as Japan has to use fully 50 per cent of its exports to pay for the oil bill alone. Germany is considerably better off, but even so the problem is grave.

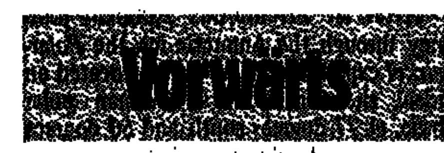
Must we therefore no label our finance minister a great "realpolitician" for having cleverly tied our most important oil supplier to this country, and as a lender at that?

But there is something wrong with such figuring — at least in the long run.

Since 1973 the Opec countries have risked their own and our necks with their reckless policy of "sales financing". Via the unrealistically high oil prices they are not only stripping us of our real earnings — that would still be tolerable and perhaps even understandable if they used the money to finance their own development.

But they are taking more from us than they can possibly invest in Saudi Arabia and other sparsely populated Opec countries. The rest of the money is being offered in the form of petro dollar credits on free international markets.

Ultimately, we who borrow this money to pay our oil bill not only finance new oil price increases, thus perpetuating our problems; we also "make up"



for the real income (standard of living) of which we have been stripped by uncontrolled borrowing abroad.

The inevitable result is that we live beyond our means as evidenced by growing balance of payments deficits. But then, so do the Opec countries, who permit themselves every imaginable luxury.

This recycling, i.e. the continuous conversion of Opec surpluses into foreign indebtedness of the industrial nations, can only be termed an inflation machine for as long as the vicious circle functions.

The industrial countries do not adapt to the reduced standard of living nor do they press on with the development of alternative sources of energy, including the nuclear variety.

By the same token, inflation is rampant in the Opec countries — an inflation resulting from the exchange of petro dollars into domestic currencies to finance spending. In all likelihood this will to the collapse of these countries sooner rather than later. The only question is: which will come first? The financial or the political collapse? Or will they come simultaneously?

Another possibility is that recycling will founder on the fact that more and more of the good credit risks among today's foreign borrowers will stop being such good risks for additional petro dollar credits.

It is not much of a consolation that Germany is likely to be the last to suffer this fate. We must take into account that the collapse of our important trading partners abroad will hit an export-dependent nation like Germany long before we ourselves reach the limit of possible indebtedness.

Let us therefore put it this way: is our finance minister, who engages in this type of deadly recycling, truly a "realpolitician"?

It is hardly *realpolitik* when the same government, which does not tire of demanding of its own people and of the friendly governments in the EMS, EEC and OECD that they pursue a policy of stability finances its own spending via the world inflation rate and then goes and fights the domestic inflation it has thus smuggled into the country.

And it is no *realpolitik* when major industrial nations, among them Germany, pocket the last still available funds, i.e. those of the rich Opec states, instead of effectively helping the Third World countries that have been hardest hit by the oil price spiral (as recommended by the Brandt Commission.

This is where the big alternative to recycling and the bloating of Euro and petro dollar markets lies. Since the Opec countries have managed to reshuffle the world income and become the sole mammoth creditor of the world economy, only they still have the money needed to help the poor Third World countries. And they could help far beyond the damage they themselves have caused.

It is therefore up to them to revive the capital and technology transfer from the industrial to the developing countries which has bogged down by granting generous credits to the Third World. For Opec, this would not be charity but a splendid deal if the industrial countries were to guarantee it.

Former Bonn Development Aid Minister Egon Bahr could tell Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer a thing or two about such trilateral financing of development projects.

And our federal budget could be relieved because the deutschemark amounts involved would be guaranteed and not paid. Moreover, this would only be done to the extent of our capacity.

But the decisive factor is that by helping to solve Third World problems, the Opec countries would not only make productive use of their riches but would also put an end to out temptation to continue consuming oil at the old rate with all the inflationary consequences this entails.

True *realpolitik* would be to replace oil by alternative energy forms.

(Vorwärts, 8 May 1980)

Firms hold back on Opec deals

Now that Kuwait has bought a 10 per cent equity in the DM240m capital of Metallgesellschaft AG (MG) there will again be those who will raise the spectre of a sell-out of German business to the sheikhs.

But, in fact German companies so far, have acted rather timidly in terms of Opec participation.

Of the more important participations, so far only the 30 per cent Kuwait equity in the German and American Korf Steel Group and the 14 per cent stake in Daimler Benz have become known.

Kuwait has stressed from the very beginning that these are pure financial deals and that they have no ambitions to have a say in the running of the companies.

In the case of Daimler, Kuwait does not even have a seat on the Supervisory Board and the deal was probably only made to take advantage of a bargain.

Even if we include Iran, the only other Opec country to have bought equities in German companies, we can hardly speak of a sell-out.

But the Shah was more ambitious; and he would probably have bought other equities had it not been for the restrictive attitude of German banks and changes in the statutes of some major German companies that precluded foreign participation with a say in management.

The new Kuwait deal with MG is also little more than a long-term investment.

The Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Metallwerte in Zurich, which held to all intents and purposes about to be liquidated, and the transfer to Kuwait of a 10 per cent block of shares only proves that, following its poor experience with dollar participation, Kuwait was interested in a sound investment, notwithstanding the small yield.

Profits from such investments are to replace oil earnings once the deposits dry up. As a result, participations like this last one with MG must be seen within a long-term framework.

Even if Kuwait only clips coupons for the time being and has no entrepreneurial ambitions, both sides stand to benefit.

Kuwait now has an equity in a concern that tots up annual sales of DM8bn, including its subsidiary, Lurgi, which is regarded as Europe's largest engineering company.

Kuwait, with its small territory and a population of 1.3m — of whom more than half are foreign workers — is primarily interested in such capital-intensive projects as refineries, gas liquefaction and petrochemical factories.

MG of course hopes for financing by the new stockholder for its raw materials exploration projects in developing countries — projects for which Kuwait has hitherto been setting aside a considerable share of its grip.

Kuwait can pay DM150m out of petty cash and the MG deal will not be a major contribution towards solving the recycling problem of oil earnings.

Still, it will have a positive effect on the Euro-Arab oil dialogue which could be defused by the transaction.

Josef Hess

(Handelsblatt, 9 May 1980)

■ RESEARCH

Bonn-backed team sets up Antarctic base

The first post-war German expedition to the Antarctic, has ended. It even set a record. *Polarsirkel*, the chartered Norwegian research vessel, with its complement of 21 West German scientists, went further west than any ship before them through the pack ice of the Weddell Sea, the Antarctic's worst. The most important outcome of the venture is probably that the expedition was able to find a suitable location for the German Antarctic base that is due to be set up at the end of this year.

The Antarctic, twice the size of Australia, is the coldest, stormiest and most isolated part of the world. In the past only polar research scientists have paid much attention to it.

Thirteen countries now have Antarctic bases and research stations, and the coldest continent is growing increasingly disputed.

International interest is concentrated on the riches the world's largest deep freezer has to offer. There are thought to be more than 900 major commodity deposits in the Antarctic.

Iron ore and coal deposits already discovered must be reckoned among the world's foremost, while pundits have visions of lead, copper and gold deposits on a par with those of Chile and Peru.

True enough, the mountain ranges of the Antarctic are geologically a continuation of the South American Andes.

Deep drilling has also brought to light ethylene and methane. Both are gases that would seem to suggest that a lot of oil must be around.

Member-countries of the Antarctic pact are shortly to reach a final decision on the exploitation rights of the ice-clad continent's natural resources.

By the tems of the treaty West Germany will not qualify as a full member of the pact until it has a permanent research base in the Antarctic ice, a polar research vessel and a special research institute of its own.

So the Bonn Research Ministry readily invested nearly DM300m in the project.

After an adventurous 2,000km journey through the Antarctic ice, the *Polarsirkel* expedition squad finally located an ideal site for the first German polar base, at 77 degrees south and 50 degrees west on the Filchner ice shelf.

It meets all the major requirements. The pack ice is fairly readily accessible at this point. The edge of the ice shelf is only 7 to 10 metres high, so equipment can be landed without difficulty.

For safety's sake the base will be about 20km inland from the edge of the shelf, which is an enormous sheet of ice up to 200 metres thick and the size of West Germany.

But it is continually pushed out to sea at a rate of one kilometre a year, creating king-sized icebergs, many of which are miles long.

The *Polarsirkel* expedition discovered the remains of Halley Bay, an old British research base that is now buried 25 metres or so beneath the ice and has reached its outer edge.

Captain Lothar Suhrmeyer, 41, from Bremerhaven, who was responsible for cargo and for nautical advice on the route to be taken, recalled the sight:

"Half the research station had already been broken up and borne out to sea as an iceberg, while the remainder still clung to the edge of the ice shelf.

"You could still sail alongside the old base and crawl inside its ice-clad remains."

Klaus Henning, 42, from Hamburg, was head of department and project manager for Deutsche Offshore, the Hapag-Lloyd subsidiary responsible for the expedition's travel arrangements.

He was amazed how interesting a world that at first glance appeared dead turned out to be and what changes it was continually undergoing.

He was particularly impressed by the many aspects of the Antarctic sky, the colourful polar light and astounding light reflections.

Suddenly, for instance, huge mountains of ice would appear in the sky or islands on the horizon, neither of which existed.

"It really does feel like fairyland," he said. "There are the most improbable ice formations, clean breaks, pressings and gigantic icicles.

"And there are the most marvellous colour schemes to be seen in the ice. It all made a most reassuring impression on me."

Glaciologist Dr Joachim Schwarz of the Hamburg Shipbuilding Research Institute, another member of the expedition, added:

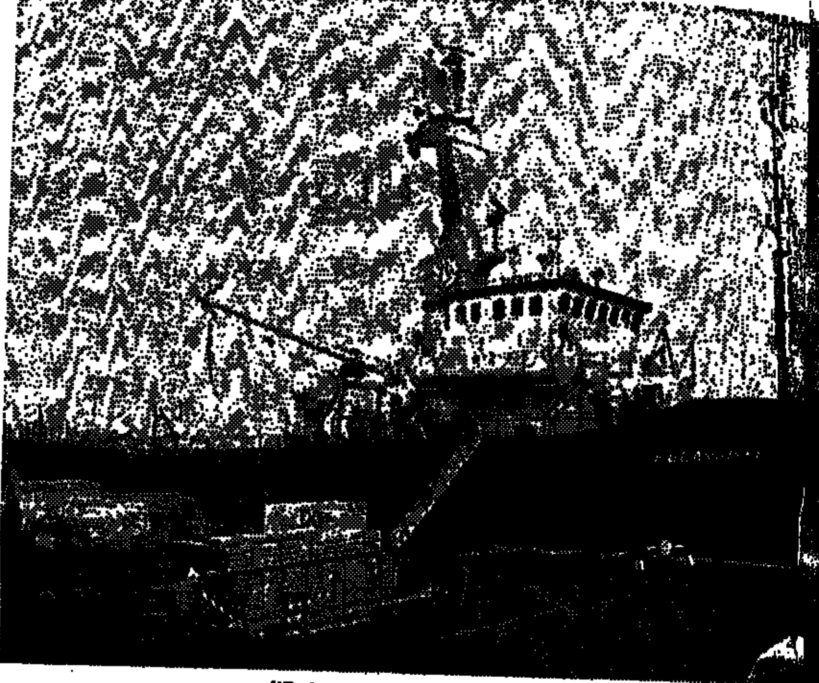
"One of the major Antarctic dangers is the cold. After only three or four hours exposed to it your ability to think is curtailed.

"You do things you would never dream of doing under normal circumstances, so you must be particularly careful about spontaneous activities and off-the-cuff decisions."

The edge of the ice shelf is also fraught with risks. The ice could break clear at any moment and there are dangerous chunks of overhanging snow that could easily plunge one into the icy brine with fatal consequences.

The life led by the men who have to

Continued on page 9



"Polarsirkel": probed new horizons.

(Photo: [illegible])

Not a stone unturned

Stone by stone, geologists plan [illegible] Munich apart over the next [illegible] months, checking masonry for si[illegible] wear and tear.

The project, with a DM260,000 [illegible] sidy from the Volkswagen Found[illegible] Hanover, will be undertaken by the Munich University department of [illegible]ral and applied geology.

Natural and man-made wear and [illegible] of house facades, monuments [illegible] church portals will be checked to [illegible] monument curators and restorers [illegible] the rot.

They will be better able to conser[illegible] masonry that is still in good conditi[illegible] and to replace weatherbeaten or pol[illegible]tion-pockmarked stone with more re[illegible]tant varieties of rock.

Geologists, masonry technologists a[illegible] monument curators have long sought [illegible] gain a clearer idea of how mas[illegible] crumbles.

As yet they can only step in [illegible] basically, it is too late because the [illegible]nite has already started peeling [illegible] marble to pockmark and the sand[illegible] to show signs of wear and tear.

It has now been decided to take a [illegible]ser look at the entire phenomen[illegible] using Munich as a case in point.

There could hardly be a better [illegible]tory. Nowhere have so many diffe[illegible] varieties of masonry from all over [illegible] world been exposed to so much [illegible] and tear over the centuries.

Buildings, monuments and [illegible] memorials in natural sandstone [illegible] often be accurately dated from [illegible] state of decay.

Subsequent care and attention [illegible]servation and replacements can [illegible]larly reconstructed.

The survey will be based on a [illegible] stone map of selected areas of the [illegible] Masonry in being will be recorded [illegible] basic maps.

Damage charts will then register [illegible] various (and variously devastating) [illegible]fects of wear and tear.

Damage to individual stones [illegible] kinds of masonry will then be [illegible] using petrographical, geophysical, [illegible] chemical, tectonic and technolo[illegible] methods.

The survey, geologists claim, will [illegible] light on masonry pores and [illegible] changes, metabolic changes, change[illegible] colour, fading and differences in [illegible]ness of the rock.

(Die Welt, 13 May [illegible])

New weapon in fight against rotting masonry

Nato is keen to protect Europe's architectural heritage but will not be detailing soldiers to mount guard over Cologne Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the Leaning Tower of Pisa, the Acropolis or Strasbourg Minster.

On the North Atlantic pact's behalf, an atmospheric pollution measuring device, known as Irma will monitor the causes of masonry decay.

Nato officials are not in charge of the project. It is the province of the Committee on the Challenge of Modern Society, set up 10 years ago to deal mainly with environmental problems.

The committee recently approved a Greek-managed scheme to maintain works of art comprising records of monuments already treated, measurements of atmospheric pollution and trials of procedures to protect buildings.

The Bonn Interior Ministry has assumed responsibility for pollution measurement and commissioned 20 measuring points in the vicinity of important and endangered buildings.

The Zollern Institute, Dortmund, has been entrusted with the job. The institute is housed in Zollern II, a coalmine that itself is a listed monument, and forms part of Bochum Mining Museum.

Siegbert-Luckat, head of the institute, is a chemist who has long been concerned with the weatherworn masonry of German castles and churches.

Irma is a simple cylinder lined with filter paper incorporating a special solution that continually washes toxins from the air as it passes through.

From next August 20 Irmas will gather dust and whatever other traces wear down age-old masonry at selected locations in Norway, Sweden, Britain, Holland, France, Italy and Greece.

Alongside the Irmas there will be a pair of caroussels, each with 10 small slabs of different natural stone to find out how they each fare in a polluted atmospheric environment.

Herr Luckat is delighted. "It will be our first full-scale series of trials extending from the Arctic Circle to the Mediterranean," he says.

He will be relying not only on Irma but also on Angelika — Angelika Küper of the environmental affairs department at the Bonn Interior Ministry.

Frau Küper is convinced the West German part of the programme will prove a handsome success: "The idea has met with ready approval in Brussels. The head of the US delegation was most impressed."

Small wonder. The Americans have tried on their own to impregnate masonry and prevent decay, but the masonry treated decayed at an even faster rate than that which was not.

It will no doubt be years before samples are returned from the 7 countries and findlings evaluated and translated into the various languages.

But Herr Luckat is fairly confident: "I reckon the project will be completed in October 1982."

But he has even more in mind. "Our long-term objective must be to protect custom-built buildings, to provide passive protection, as it were." In other words, impervious materials must be found and used.

Rudolf Hajduk

(Die Welt, 9 May 1980)

Continued from page 8

hibernate on their Antarctic bases is particularly hard. Between April and September it never grows really light.

It also blows gales of up to 125 miles an hour and the lowest temperatures ever recorded, -88.3 centigrade, have been recorded.

This hostile environment forces scientists to stay safely under the snow for the duration of the winter. They can only leave the safety of their subterranean homes and go up outside for 15 to 30 minutes daily.

They will, for that matter, only do so to gather fuel and collect snow for refilling their water tanks.

A small ice-bound town is due to be built on the Filchner ice shelf this December, early in the Antarctic summer. It should be enough to enable West German scientists to last out the winter on this inhospitable continent.

Up to 40 of them are to be housed in insulated, fully equipped containers inside two corrugated metal tubes 50 metres long and buried two metres below ground.

From their Antarctic home base where they will live and work they will embark on an extensive programme of scientific research.

Special attention will be paid to the seaborne and glacial ice. The Antarctic is a gigantic natural laboratory in which all manner of theories about the origins and development of the ice ages can be checked.

Research into Antarctic coastal waters, rich as they are in fish stocks, will be of at last equal importance for world nutrition.

Monika Müller

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 8 May 1980)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Experts want limits on use of pesticides

Chemical weedkillers and pesticides are unlikely to become more widely used than they are now.

Delegates at a plant protection consultants' conference in Munich were told that the next stage was to find the safest, shortest and most economic means of protecting plants.

This could result in less chemicals being used.

The chairman of the Bavarian plant protection consultants' working party is Walter Leibelt, head of the Munich agricultural office maintained by Hoechst, the Frankfurt chemicals corporation.

Bavaria is the only *Land* in West Germany where consultants have joined forces in this way. The Munich gathering was attended by about 100 experts and politicians, civil servants, farmers, research scientists and industrial representatitives.

Werner Hunnius of the Bavarian Plant Cultivation and Soil Research Institute told them all about the Bavarian approach to plant protection and weedkilling.

Any system of integrated plant protections, he said, must include conservation of the ecological cycle as one of its objectives.

It must also include indirect measures such as the use of healthy seeds and plants, soil cultivation, fertilisation and seed protection.

Directly, plant protection entailed mechanical, biological and chemical measures, he said, and efforts were currently being made to intensify mechanical weedkilling.

About 62 per cent of chemicals used in agriculture went towards killing weeds. Biological measures included germ warfare on them.

Chemicals had an important part to play in plant protection but should only be used where they were absolutely essential. Herr Hunnius favoured using them in moderation and for specific purposes only.

Their use must be geared to the damage threshold, the point at which weeds caused harm. The institute was trying to compile comprehensive facts and figures on the subject.

Jürgen Kradel of BASF said that integrated plant cultivation nowadays obliged farmers to use chemicals for a specific purpose and dosed in accordance with the crop yield expected.

For cost reasons chemical weedkillers and pesticides were being limited to an extent of use that could be rated meaningful from the ecological viewpoint.

Wolfgang Waldhauer of Bayer noted that new and improved processes held forth the prospect of reducing the quantity of chemicals used in plant protection.

While there was no question of dispensing with chemicals entirely in farming, costs could certainly be cut. An instance he cited was that of seed being impregnated with fungicide.

This protected the seedling from infection and meant that spraying might no longer be necessary.

But developing new agents and processes was a long and costly business. Even so, competition between manufacturers was sufficient to ensure that research along these lines would be intensified.

As regarded traces of plant protection agents in food, Siegfried Gorbach of Hoechst's central research division reckoned the risk was slight.

Man had long lived with the problem of left-overs of this kind without being unduly aware of it even.

Smoke contained carcinogenic agents, yet hardly anyone would hit on the idea of claiming that smoke-cured food was poisonous.

There were any number of substances in the food we ate that did not get there by human means, so the risk of damage was what counted, not the quantity of traces.

Plant protection agents were carefully checked in laboratory and animal experiments to ensure they entailed no health hazard before permission was granted to market them.

The amount of weedkiller and insecticide contained in the crop at harvest time was painstakingly ascertained and must be within permitted levels.

If it was more, the use of this product for the purpose in question would not be recommended, he said. His talk was followed by detailed discussion.

Martin Rehm

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 May 1980)

More evidence unearthed on North Sea pollution

Scientists have been warning for years about the amount of industrial waste and sludge being dumped in the German Bight area of the North Sea.

But a lack of conclusive evidence that marine life was coming to harm handicapped the appeals.

Now, new evidence unearthed by V. Dethlefsen and B. Watermann, scientists with the inland and coastal fishery department of the Federal Fishery Research Institute, fills this gap.

In an article in *Informationen für die Fischwirtschaft*, the Hamburg Institute's house journal, they document a high frequency of skin diseases among fish in the area where titanium oxide waste is dumped.

The North Sea is, of course, kept continually on the move, but so much chemical waste is pumped into the sea north-west of Heligoland that changes were observed in 1976 and earlier.

Its acid content was seen to increase, for instance, as was its carbon monoxide count, and since 1977 the institute has monitored fish diseases in the North Sea.

The dab, a flatfish that lives on the seabed of the German Bight, has been found to suffer from hyperplasia, or overgrowth of a part due to excessive multiplication of its cells, to an alarming degree.

Even more alarmingly, this skin disease is generally felt to be a precursor of tumour-like ailments.

Dethlefsen and Watermann claim that dab found due west of the Eiderstedt peninsula, which is where titanium oxide waste is dumped, suffer from a much greater incidence of skin diseases than anywhere else in the North Sea.

In this area the incidence of tumours was invariably one or even several per cent, whereas elsewhere it never amounted to more than a fraction of a per cent.

In the sludge dumping area of the Elbe estuary, where Hamburg dumps its sewage waste, dab were not usually found to suffer from an unusually high infection rate.

So sludge does not seem to cause skin tumours among fish. Titanium oxide waste is not their cause either, however, since high frequencies are also reported from areas elsewhere.

Dab are probably prone to skin complaints of this kind in any case and the water and seabed in the areas in question merely accelerate and intensify the course of the ailment.

It seems reasonable to assume that complaints such as these are bound to be more serious among seabed fish such as the dab that are unable to make a quick getaway when titanium oxide waste is dumped.

Findings to date are not yet alarming, but they ought to prompt intensive research into the consequences of titanium oxide waste dumping.

Are dab the only victims or do deposits of industrial waste mark the beginning of a dangerous environmental change?

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 May 1980)

EXHIBITIONS

Glancing back at some European roots

For moral, patriotic and educational reasons the European nations have, since the middle of the eighteenth century, taken a long and close look at the barbarian cultures of the ancient world.

Worried by crises which threatened to undermine social agreements and institutions, they hoped for a regeneration, a renewal, by returning to the origins of the nation, origins which more most purely present in the nations' barbarian ancestors.

The Germanic people and the Celts soon became the models of the German and French nations. They were regarded as "embodying all the national virtues that would improve the quality of public life, rescue the nation from impending degeneration.

Germanic liberty, which even French



Motif belonging to wooden container (circa 400 BC.).

aristocrats and liberals celebrated as the natural form of individual freedom, was soon opposed by Celtic freedom, which, more sociable than Germanic, saw the equality of all free men as the highest good.

The political arguments of the period were "backed up with archaeological and historical arguments, Archaeological findings supported biological and moral ideas for the sake of which the search for the relics of the "blood" heritage had begun in the first place.

The opposition between the Celts and the Germanic tribesmen and as a class struggle was for over a century the dominant theme of French historiography, parallel to the contrast between the aristocratic, individual idea of *freedom* and the democratic-popular idea.

The Third Estate rebelled as the representatives of the permanently oppressed Celts against Germanic, foreign aristocracy. Later the workers were to claim to be the true representatives of the Celtic tradition.

In Germany where, according to the views of the time, the aristocracy and the people did not belong to two different races, they blithely invoked the Germanic tradition and the Celts were assigned to a vague prehistoric past. Interest in the Celts was limited, calm, objective and scientific.

In the scientific field little has basically changed here and even in France the politically inspired interest in the Celts dwindled in the course of this century.

Nonetheless, interest in the Celts has increased in central Europe since 1945. Since the scourge of Nazism with its Germanic philosophy, central Europeans have been reluctant to regard themselves as descendants of the tribes. As the Celts, from whom the French and later the English claimed to be descended, had a culture which embraced West and Central Europe, the central European, by recalling his Celtic heritage, can see himself as a "natural" West European.

In South Germany and Austria in particular archaeologists are piously digging for traces of Celtic culture. Many Bavarians or Austrians who take pride in their national and local customs claim to be Celts and proudly wear the name of Austerix on their breasts.

"The Celts in Central Europe" is the dry and scientifically neutral title of an exhibition now being held at the Celtic Museum in Hallein (Austria). The title nonetheless pinpoints the crisis of identity. It is embarrassing to be considered Germanic, Roman culture is considered elitists and unpopular, whereas Celtic customs — from Dublin to Laibach — are free of unfortunate historical ballast, give a sense of purpose.

The opening ceremony was attended by Celts from many countries, including Arch druids from Wales and folk music groups to spread the culture of the long-forgotten ancestors. What could have been more natural, in the land of Mozart, than to recall the Celtic penchant for music? The Swabian from Salzburg is, so to speak, a super-Celt. (Though Mozart would have been very surprised to hear he was cultivating Celtic talents.)

But, allow a "Celt" to put the question, what has the musicality of barbarians to do with that of civilised Christians and Germans?

There is no Irish Mozart, not even a Lehar from Brittany. Our world is a world of culture, not of nature. Our ancestors are not primitive tribes but the historic peoples that have gradually emerged since the eleventh century, the inheritors and transformers of Greek and Roman culture.

The exhibition gives a good overview of the state of scholarly knowledge of Celtic culture. There is no trace of a naive cult of the Celt here, though it does not dissociate itself from car-stickers such as *Kelti kommt* (the Celt is coming) and tolerates all kinds of folklore activities aimed at extending or even awakening historic consciousness.

Celtic scholars may regard the exhibition as a major cultural event but most tourists who visit it do so to have a good time. Asterix and Obelix are the only Celts they have ever heard of. And of course there is no harm in Asterix fans wanting to know more about the way their heroes lived.

Unfortunately, they will not learn much here. The comic series entertains graphically but most of the objects on show here are mainly harmless ornaments, weapons and tools.

They tell the layman little. Only the expert can appriciate that they are eloquent and even important witnesses of Celtic culture. The decorative ornaments of bracelets, pots, helmets and belt



The Celtic God, Esus-Cernunnos, portrayed here with antlers.

(Photos: ...)

buckles undoubtedly stimulate Celtic scholars, exciting their far from underdeveloped imagination. But for the non-specialist they remain mere curiosities that do not even interest aesthetically and that are only occasionally historically entertaining.

The attentive visitor will learn from the careful and well-planned exhibition, from the excellent catalogue, the explanations and the objects on display a certain amount about the social, religious and economic habits of these groups of tribes, whose existence is first recorded in the sixth century B.C.

Round about the birth of Christ they were absorbed into the Roman Empire, later to be displaced by the Germanic. But he does not find out why it is so urgently necessary to study Celtic culture if one is not a Celtic scholar or does not come from Ireland or Brittany, where there are still powerful traces of pre-Christian Celtic culture.

The only remarkable thing about these once powerful Celts is their permanent dependence on the Mediterranean, on classical civilisation in the widest sense of the word. It was here that they got not only their arts, their religion, their luxury goods but also where they learnt their handicraft, iron-mining, pottery and other skills. They lived at second hand, which perhaps explains why they never managed to establish themselves as a major, independent force within the Roman world.

Celtic art and ornamentation, animal sculpture, even their vain attempts to depict the human form, are only variations on the models provided by higher cultures. By describing this as the "wish for art" one is perhaps merely ennobling



This container has the lid shaped as horse with human face.

the inability to copy the ... achievements of the Greek, even if ... in the making of ornaments.

The famous Gundestrup cauldron, ... example, an important source of information on Celtic religion, is less remarkable for the original Celtic-barbarian designs than for the playful use ... hellenistic-oriental motifs. The famous Celtic imagination is sometimes a ... pale excuse.

Greece and Rome who, together with the Celts, developed their culture from the sixth century B.C. to the birth of Christ, achieved astonishing aesthetic innovations in this time which certainly do not indicate any lack of imagination on their part.

It requires great patience to regard the alienation of superb originals as "genius" merely because what in the hands of Romans and Greeks was ordered had been turned by the Celts into a labyrinth — though admittedly with ample use of the circle. It is an open question whether most visitors have the necessary capacity to forget all the aesthetic ideas of our Roman, classical tradition and to be able to admire the admittedly barbaric quality of Celtic handicraft.

It may perhaps have been ungracious of the later Europeans, who were of Celtic origin, to make the Romans and Greeks their models and even to claim them as their ancestors — but that ... why they became what they were, at least. Ancestors one has lost — are quite deliberately lost — are ancestors no longer.

The real value of all these exhibitions about neglected cultures painstakingly salvaged from the ruins of history is that they confirm yet again that our civilisation, in so far as we feel at home in it, is essentially the humanistic tradition.

The Greeks created the idealised ... of the Celts. Before the photographs of the Dying Gaul and the Gaul and his Wife, the central European at last ... himself in his world. Not from the Germanic tribes, not from the compl... curves of Celtic ornaments, but from the Mediterranean streamed into the ... mind the capacity to shape and form.

This is not to decry Celtic scholarship but it does dispense the general public from he need to worry its head ... much about a prehistory which is not its own.

The Celts are a scientific problem ... the exhibition gives a level-headed ... sight into the still provisional findings of the Celtic scholars and prehistorians — their methods of working, hypotheses and excavations. A branch of scholarship makes its appearance at this exhibition presenting us with an impression ... dead culture which which it is ... but which remains very strange to ...

Eberhard Str...

(Frankfurter Allgemeine ... für Deutschland, ...)

THE CINEMA

Star of the 30s laments the passing of the character actor

Actors today are just puppets, according to Carl Raddatz, celebrated film star of the 30s. He says that in Britain, France and America, actors are still valued, but not in Germany.

"Someone needs a barman for a film. So what does the director do?" asks Raddatz.

"He goes out and gets a has-been. Not an actor. This has got nothing to do with acting.

"In the old days they would have picked Aribert Wäscher for the part — he was always convincing, as a landlord, a deceived husband or a crook.

"He was an actor. All they want today is types."

Raddatz is an established stage actor in West Berlin. He is often on television. But he is virtually unknown to this generation of cinema goers. And that is a shame.

If one asks him, 68-year-old Raddatz can act an entire scene from the *Fröhliche Weinberg* — he is completely at home in Carl Zuckmayer's work. He has been living in Berlin since 1937 and is now a Berliner through and through — not only in his accent, but in his heart. And his heart still belongs to the cinema.

And why do we only see types and no character actors in most German films these days?

Carl Raddatz, sometimes angry, sometimes sarcastic, immediately holds forth: "My film years from 1937 were my happiest years. The film industry worked like a well-oiled machine. Films need organisation. A film company needs capital.

"Today they just scrape along from one film to the next. Producers get hold of as much money as they can and their first question is: how much can I make out of it?

"And to bring in the cash the film has to have plenty of sex, horror or slapstick — or pseudo-intellectual stuff. Actors today are just puppets."

Choosing types for parts makes films sterile he says. Berlin no longer has so many theatres as before, but Raddatz still thinks that there are enough good actors. So why the obsession with lay actors?

"Lay actors are only good in very few films of a certain kind. There is no conscientiousness in film-making any more. In the old days, three months were spent on preparing a film, and great attention was paid to casting. Helmut Käutner did this for instance in *Unter den Brücken*. There were only three main parts. And I was fortunate enough to get one of them."

And how was it after 1945? "Well, for example in *In jenen Tagen* we 'stars', as we were at the time, agreed to work for 3,000 Reichsmarks because Käutner promised us it would be a good film. Then came the currency reform, after which there were still a few good films, such as *Wohin die Züge fahren*, by Boleslaw Barlog. Then things started going downhill."

"This was the age of the "Heimat" film. The screens were flooded with one tear-jerker after another. There were some promising signs, with Abich and Thiele in Göttingen for instance, but most of the work was prety shoddy. No wonder cinema-goers turned away from German films — and Germans actors.

He has been involved in intensive stage work with Kortner and Hilpert. But despite this and despite all the disappointments (Raddatz says that actors are often enough reduced to mere puppets on the stage these days), film remains his great passion.

"You can express some things before a camera that you cannot express on stage. Many actors who spend most of their time making films say they need stage work to recuperate. In my case it is the other way round. I need films. On stage I need to rehearse for a long time before my performance reaches the very last row.

"In front of the camera I am on form right away. My heart is in the cinema. I get quite sentimental, but the thing is I can do more than on the stage. On stage I sometimes feel shy, but in front of the camera I can be myself. This is what fascinates me so much."

What does he think of modern film directors? "Of course there are some good, hard-working directors. But most of them — and this applies to a lot of stage directors too — are basically directing for themselves. There is appalling narcissism among them. All they love is themselves — and perhaps their view of the world too.

"They regard the actor as a mere oaf. And it is not only the sex film directors who are wild about a bare breast being shown or a so-called mime urinating . . . I would rather dubb American films than do that kind of nonsense."

So we can still learn from the Americans? "Of course I knew Bogart, Lancaster, Kirk Douglas, Robert Taylor. And I learnt a lot from them, old hand and all as I was.

"Above all I learnt simplicity from my American colleagues. Dubbing their words forced me to precision — speaking exactly. How many actors can still do this in this country?"

Carl Raddatz is frank and honest. Of course he is angry that he was written off so soon and so undeservedly by the German film industry. But he is not discontented.



Carl Raddatz

(Photo: dpa)

On the contrary, he hopes for a real regeneration of the German film industry — a movement away from types and slogans, towards the effectiveness and importance of actors.

"Despite the changes, the necessary changes in film the Americans have never forgotten the importance of acting on the screen. This is something we need to remember."

Klaus Hebecker

(Die Welt, 3 May 1980)

Fame is elusive for director of 6 films

The name of Robert van Ackeren does not immediately spring to mind in connection with the modern German cinema. The 33-year-old Berliner of Dutch descent is still comparatively unknown, even though he has already directed five feature films, one of which, *Harlis*, won a national film prize in 1973.

Van Ackeren studied film at a film academy and then worked as a cameraman for some years for directors such as Klaus Lemke, Werner Schroeter and Roland Klick.

Van Ackeren's sixth feature film, *Die Reinheit des Herzens* (Purity of Heart) is the German entry for the *Quinzaine des Réalisateurs* section of the Cannes International Film Festival.

It will be shown in West German cinemas this month.

Van Ackeren has an international reputation but is more or less unknown to a wider film-going public — perhaps because of the specific nature of his work.

Die Reinheit des Herzens, for which Van Ackeren also wrote the screenplay, is a love story without romanticism, without feelings; a love story full of blunders and hallucinations.

Van Ackeren said he would describe the film as a kind of love story: "Because it describes relationships — extreme relationships. If you look at the people who were politically involved in the student movement in 1968, people who are established today, you will see that the political ideas of the time have stamped the relationships.

"There is a kind of disillusionment among these people today, the ideas and plans of those days are merely a facade, expressed in poses. I think the film can be regarded as a literal explosion of the emotional world. The interesting thing for me here is that the man more or less encourages the woman to have another relationship and when this happens he reacts in a bourgeois way: he is terribly shocked."

Van Ackeren sees this as an important difference from other films which also describe relationships: "At the end the film does not show a kind of rec-

Robert van Ackeren

(Photo: Filmverlag der Autoren)

onciliation in which everyone can lean back and say: everything is fine with me." Here I describe a number of things consistently and there is no way of sticking a left-wing utopian label on it — as happens in many modern German films."

Van Ackeren does not adopt a moral stance in the film: "This film is the product of my experience and observations of reality. The film says a lot about feelings, but without ideology. I did not present it in such a way that the viewer is completely absorbed, identifies totally and cannot see things objectively.

"On the contrary, the narrative style of the film is such that the viewer is enabled to take up a clear position. This is what I am trying to do: I want the viewer to participate in the judgment of the whole thing."

This perspective is ironically exaggated — typical of Van Ackeren's filmic philosophy.

The final image in the film undermines the apparently intact world: Lisa, a bookseller (played by Elisabeth Trissenaar) returns after a love affair to Jean, a writer (played by Matthias Habich), having just stabbed to death Kai, who earned a living out of stealing books.

She snuggles cosily up to her former partner although she has every reason in the world to have nothing more to do with him. Their teenage daughter, whom Jean has openly made life a misery for, hugs the reunited couple in relief.

Here Van Ackeren refuses to point the moralistic finger of accusation. Of the ironic and ambivalent end of the film he says: "I would have liked to do it differently. But I cannot portray in a film developments that I do not see, that are not emerging anywhere. I based the film on my experience of reality."

It is impossible not to smile ironically at this description of the retreat of a certain generation intellectuals of the 68 generation. Even where the director deliberately resists the chic trend of this tale of the politically chic, without harming the clear overall concept.

Van Ackeren says: "When political attitudes have become a mere pose, there is no longer any worthwhile unity of purpose in this generation. The 1968 left today spends a lot of its time talking about where it is going to spend its next holidays."

Purity of Heart is a link in the chain of all Van Ackeren's films which are preoccupied with triangular relationships full of melodramatic scenes, of the exchangeability of relationships.

Stylistically, Van Ackeren attempts to cope with this by stylising realism and thus trying to bring it nearer to truth.

Asked about the meaning of the pretty title, Van Ackeren smiles and says: "I'll leave this entirely to the viewer's imagination for a change."

Hans Jürgen Weber

([illegible], 4 May 1980)

■ MODERN LIVING

What makes a genius? Experts ponder the possibilities

In his "Emilia Galotti", 18th century German playwright Lessing had the artist Conti ponder whether Raphael would have veen the same genius had he been born without hands.

He argued that genius was in the mind and that the hand was but an instrument and that the best was lost en route from the eye via the hand to the paintbrush.

Today, we are rather sceptical about an understanding of talent that centres in cognitive intelligence.

A series of lectures organised by the Siemens Foundation recently dealt with "talent and intelligence".

Frederic Vester, who chaired the discussions, spoke of haptic and motoric intelligence. Genius, he said, could just as well be housed in the hand and manifest itself in actions. In other words, the final product need not always be painting à la Raphael.

Helpfulness, which boils down to a social prowess, is an essential element of intelligent behaviour, to mention but one example.

Theodor Hellbrügge, looking at the problem from a sociologist's vantage point, said that independence in a child can only develop once it has learned to help its juniors. But our school system, he pointed out, prevents social learning and raises lone fighters.

So what is intelligence? Freiburg biologist Bernhard Hassenstein called for a theory of talent that would largely depart from our institutionalised concept of education. Instead of letting himself be pinned down with a definition, he presented "variations on a theme". These variations were intended to replace abstract terminology by depicting typical cases that show the multi-tier nature of the anthropological phenomenon.

But is this rather artistic method not at odds with the demands of exact science?

The very posing of this question shows that we have descended into a morass of intellectualism. The speaker's playful circling around the theme without getting down to brass tacks pursued a very serious and ambitious objective: he wanted to demonstrate that an associative-artistic method does not preclude a strictly scientific approach.

Today's views on talent and intelligence are anything but the last word of scientific wisdom. What Hassenstein wanted was to rehabilitate the decisive part creative forces play in bringing about intelligent behaviour.

It is a prejudice, he said, to seek the source of scientific thinking in rational clarity. Taking a closer look, we see this clarity becoming clouded.

Thus, the thinking process that ultimately led to the theory of relativity was preceded, according to Einstein himself, by a long stage of confusion, unclear assumptions and waiting for the idea that would act as a catalyst.

Outstanding representatives of the world of science confirm its intuitive-creative character. Free association of thoughts and strict logic interact. We no longer need confirmation by authorities to recognise this. The genesis of associative thought can now be studied with computers in model form. Put in a nutshell: talent does not exhaust itself in thought processes taking a mathematical, logical and linguistic course.

Ultimately, this means that today's educational system that came into being as a result of reforms develops only a small part of a child's intelligence at the expense of other essential elements.

Hassenstein's and Vester's criticism of our educational system could not have been more radical. On all its levels, this system gives priority to to a behavioural learning theory that makes the student atrophy into an amalgamation of predominantly cognitive learning objectives which, to be realised, are divided up into measurable steps.

Moreover, the intelligence concept of our school system blends two irreconcilable theories of talent: the environment and the heredity theories — a contradiction which, according to Hassenstein, had to lead to the disastrous failure of our educational reforms.

The interplay of hereditary and environment factors differs vastly from the character-environment concept that attempts to express talent mathematically in percentage points of each.

The preceding lecture by the geneticist Friedrich Vogel was extremely critical of the results of measurements as presented by Jensen and Eyselck. Hassenstein then added an interesting thought. According to him, two components can cooperate in entirely different ways: not only as an addition (according to Eyseleck, talent is on average the sum of 80 per cent inherited intelligence and 20 per cent environment) but also as a multiplication. Seen in this light, talent and environment are entirely dependent on each other. A Raphael without hands would have been no genius even if the hands were understood to be a mere tool for the realisation of his potential talent.

Albert von Schirnding
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 May 1980)

Fingertip information

Each fold of this strip of mini data is 2cm X 4cm: 650 pieces of information can be contained in this key-ring locket devised by ADAC, the Munich-based motoring club, and the motor insurers' accociation, to help German travellers. Information such as identification, blood group, telephone numbers of Bonn embassies round the world are listed. The Bonn Foreign Office provided much of the data. (Photo: Centerpress)

Application of neurology 'in bad state', say doctors

West German neurology is in disarray: this is characterised by the German Society for Neurology which, on the eve of its 75th anniversary, shows signs of "disintegration".

According to an article by Professors H. G. Mertens and O. Hallen in the medical journal *Nervenarzt*, the Society has seen to it that virtually all German universities teach neurology in hospitals north of the Main River, but neurology has become isolated.

The authors blame this on the fragmentation of neurology.

As a rule, the authors say, neurologists only have a couple of beds at their only instrument is the percussion hammer. In addition, they have a laboratory for the testing of brain and spinal fluids. All other functions are carried out by specialists.

By the time the neurologists has gathered all his test results the patient has usually long been discharged.

Moreover, most neurological patients are admitted to other specialist departments ranging from surgery to dermatology. As a result, it could just as well be left to a computer to write the discharge report and draft instructions.

In any event, the disintegration of neurology is gathering momentum along a North-South slope.

Furthermore, neurology has given up all attempts to improve the care of its patients. The activities of neurologists are still concentrated on psychiatry and neurology orientated by internal medicine criteria is at best practised in a few specialised clinics and not by the broad mass of neurologists. There is also much room for improvement in the diagnostic methods of neurology.

Neurological X-ray diagnosis, for instance, should be carried out by a neurologist or a neuro-surgeon. As things stand, however, any radiologist can make X-ray diagnoses without having been trained for this.

As long as most privately practising psychiatrists believe that psychiatry and psychology are not enough to provide them with a livelihood and that they must practise neurology as well, the layman cannot be blamed when he demands a computer tomography every time he has a headache.

The authors lament the fact that the

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Human body is 'capable of self-immunity'

The human body is capable of establishing its own "pharmaceutical factory", scientists say.

A new process is now to force bacteria to produce immunological substances against a wide range of diseases and thus act as a pharmaceutical factory.

Professor Johannes Büttner, chairman of the European Conference on Biochemical and Instrumental Analysis, reported on this progress at the opening ceremony of *Analytica 80*.

The medical fair is combined with a congress expected to be attended by 1,500 scientists from 30 countries.

Immunological substances against viruses (and possibly also cancer cells) which the human body produces in the normal course can now be produced by pharmaceutical companies in adequate quantities, Professor Büttner said.

He pointed to interferon — an immunological substance produced in human cells — which was hitherto available in minute quantities only, not to mention the cost.

This important medical innovation was made possible by a new analysis process developed by the English researcher and Nobel Prize laureate Professor F. Sanger and the American scientists Professors W. Gilbert and A. M. Maxam, who received special awards at *Analytica 80*.

The succeeded in determining the sequence of nucleic acid which carries genetic information in the cell. The process can now be used in any laboratory.

Microprocessors, Professor Büttner said, have now conquered biochemical analysis inasmuch as more and more of them are now being installed in measuring apparatus as a means of electronic control. This has led to more accurate results.

Another innovation is the use of dry rather than liquid reagents which are worked into special film (similar to the photographic variety) and attached to the substance to be analysed (blood, for instance).

Two new analysis methods for glucose (as in the case of diabetics) have now been introduced and are expected to be available to the medical profession on a large scale in about two years.

According to the organisers, *Analytica* is the largest fair of its kind in the world and is expected to be attended by 20,000.

dpa
(Kieler Nachrichten, 5 May 1980)

■ EDUCATION

Study condemns 'lack of uniform marking' in primary schools



Marks in primary schools have no objective value whatever, according to a group of educational psychologists in Cologne.

The psychologists, who analysed and compared marking systems in Cologne primary schools, blame the teachers rather than the schools.

They say teachers often have very different marking systems, and point out that in primary schools a class may have only one teacher for all main subjects and that what they learn will depend almost exclusively on his competence and commitment.

They say that in many cases teachers award marks which are far too high. They point out that this is undoubtedly connected with the fact that "in awarding marks the teacher is to no small extent passing judgement on the quality of his own teaching, his competence in his subject and his commitment."

A random analysis of marks at Cologne primary schools showed that the same dictation was awarded a B in one school, a C in another and a D in another.

On the basis of the random test the psychologists conclude that primary school marking is not even uniform in the main subjects.

They ask: how can parents rely on these marks? What value do these marks have in deciding what kind of secondary school to send the child to.

For some years now Cologne educational psychologists have found that children coming to the grammar and technical schools have different levels of mastery of the material they are expected to know; and that the majority come below the required level.

This meant that in many cases the grammar and technical schools had to cover ground that should have been covered at primary schools.

The psychologists quote a technical school teacher to show how serious things are: "We don't know what we can and should expect the pupils to know. Really we don't expect them to know anything at all and we have to start right at the beginning."

The problem of huge differences in marking systems also exists at grammar schools. "There are great differences between standards from one grammar school to the next. A pupil who is a failure in one might be able to hold his own or even do well at another."

They demonstrate the problem of different marking systems by analysing statistics of pupils repeating classes and leaving Cologne grammar schools.

At one school one out of 100 pupils a year left because of poor results in the first four years; at another, seven in 100 left. The same with pupils repeating classes: in one grammar school two or three out of 100 pupils repeated; in another nine or ten.

The study only speculates on the reasons for these differences. They say that grammar schools competing for pupils in the same catchment area cannot be too selective.

They also found that in all-girls' schools fewer girls repeated classes or left than at all-boys or co-ed schools.

They attribute this to the general experience at schools that "girls have fewer problems and are more conformist in their general and learning behaviour."

The psychologists completely scotch the frequent supposition that there is a connection between high numbers of repeaters and leavers and the size of classes: "It is not true to say that the larger the classes, the more willing the school is for pupils to leave or repeat."

Rather the converse: "The fuller the schools and classes, the lower the selection quotas."

The study criticises the grammar schools for recommending leavers to switch to technical rather than secondary modern schools.

It says grammar schools are not doing pupils a favour here either from a general or educational psychology viewpoint because "pupils who have failed at grammar schools will, with few exceptions, not be able to make the grade at technical schools."

Johann Jul
(Vorwärts, 8 May 1980)

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practices of psychiatrists, psychotherapists and neurologists are slow in being established.

With regard to further education, they say that independent psychiatrists are satisfied with learning second hand about neurological innovations.

As a result, the authors say, the Neurological Society attaches great importance to performance controls for neurologists. These controls, however, should also include specialised departments of hospitals.

Most neurological departments, the authors say, lack the necessary modern equipment and, what is more, they lack qualified experts who know how to handle such equipment.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 May 1980)

Teachers work too hard – university report

Teachers suffer as much from stress as excavator drivers, according to a study by occupational medicine specialists.

The study, the first ever of the teaching from the occupational medicine point of view, was produced by Munich University Department of Occupational Physiology and commissioned by the Teachers' Union (GEW).

Wolf Müller-Limmroth, head of the department, writes in a summary of the study: "Many recent public discussions of teachers' working hours have shown that there is widespread ignorance of teachers' work loads."

Müller-Limmroth says that in working out how much work teachers do one must take into account not only teaching hours and holidays but also working conditions such as the school timetable, the classrooms, class sizes and the age of pupils.

The main conclusions of the specialists are:

1. Of the teachers covered by the study 83.2 per cent were class teachers; 29 per cent always taught on Saturdays and 25.9 per cent never had to teach on Saturdays.

The rest had either one or two free Saturdays a month; 42.7 per cent volunteered the information that they worked regularly on Sundays. The average age of the poll sample was 35. Most had been teaching for 10 years and more.

2. The scientists worked out working hours as follows; 18 hours 27 mins teaching, 7 hours 5 mins preparation, 5 hours 8 mins correcting and marking, 2 hours 43 mins for staff meetings, 3 hours one minute for Sunday work and 10 hours 53 mins for other activities.

To this was added time spent deputising for absent colleagues, breaks and time spent travelling to staff meetings in the evening or afternoon.

They justified counting breaks "because the reaction of the heart and blood pressure and analysis of stress hormone decomposition products in urine shows that breaks are not a form of relaxation or rest, especially when the teacher is on duty."

According to the study, teachers work 53 hours 23 minutes per teaching week.

3. Given the long working hours, the considerable physical and mental stresses on teachers were especially important.

Teachers needed to be gifted in many respects, of above average intelligence, responsible, understanding towards pupils.

It was difficult "to explain complex facts simply and without distortion, to conduct and intellectual dialogue with the pupil and to encourage him to learn — to teach, to praise, to warn and to blame."

"The fact that all the teacher's decisions, especially on term marks and transfer to the next class, can even be challenged in court, are a serious psychological stress factor," writes Müller-Limmroth.

4. The teacher is subject to high stress on his health. One in two teachers was highly susceptible to a heart attack. There was particularly heavy stress on the spinal column, the feet and the circulation. "Bad air" and the need to talk louder "explain the excessive stress on teachers' vocal chords and their greater susceptibility to throat infections."

5. The Munich scientists conclude that the stress on teachers can only be reduced by cutting their daily teaching load "as the changes caused by stress reactions for biological reasons must be compensated for as soon as possible."

Teachers' Union leader Erich Frister said that the study's findings confirmed his demands that teachers' hours would have to be reduced.

Jutta Roitsch
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 May 1980)

MINORITY GROUPS

More local political activity is planned for Berlin's Turks

Mehmet and Farhaddin form part of a group of kids watching a Sunday morning game of football in Kreuzberg, a dilapidated inner city borough in the American sector of Berlin.

The sun is shining on the corner of Wrangelstrasse and Skalitzer Strasse and the boys are giving their local club the usual vocal support.

The game is being played on the pitch of a local high school, some of whose 1,600 students are taught in a freshly tiled former barracks of a guard regiment.

Home side is Südost 1950, Mehmet's club. He wears the club's name on the back of his training suit jacket. Farhaddin doesn't, but he too is a playing member of the club.

The old age pensioner who looks after the club's juniors is a Rhinelander who has been in Kreuzberg since 1936. "I'm as fond of the Turkish kids as I am of the Germans," he reckons.

Immediately opposite, behind the pillars of the Underground, which travels overground at this point, is SO 36, the office of a pressure group set up to ensure the survival of Kreuzberg, or that part of it that used to be the SE 36 postal district.

They feel the Senate, or city council of West Berlin, is their adversary (although, in fact, the Senate bankrolls the SO 36 group).

"What we want", says their spokesman, Gerhard Keller, "is to stem the tide of Turks moving into Kreuzberg South-East." He was born here and ran a corner shop nearby until taking over as full-time paid secretary of SO 36 (his salary is paid by the Senate).

"If we allow developments to continue unabated South-East will end up being an entirely Turkish ghetto, and on the quiet that's what a number of politicians would like to see happen," he says.

In two years the number of German residents in the postal district has declined by 9 per cent, according to Keller's figures, while the number of Turks has increased by 10 per cent.

"In Kreuzberg the Turks will soon be worse off than the blacks in Harlem, New York," says Vasfi Kona, a Turkish official with DGB, the Trades Union Confederation, in West Berlin.

"They certainly will be unless the vocational training problems young Turks face are solved."

There are about 100,000 Turks in Berlin and 20,000 or so are juveniles. Kona reckons substantially fewer than 1,000 are undergoing any kind of career training.

He says you can count of your fingers the number who will graduate from college and obtain university entrance qualifications.

"The radicalisation of young people is making alarming progress," he says. Adalbertstrasse is a road leading from Kottbuser Tor, a main intersection and Kreuzberg Underground station, to the Berlin Wall. It and Oranienstrasse, which runs at right angles to it, are deepest Turkey in Berlin.

Turks in Berlin: early steps to a better future? (Photo: Sven...)

From Kottbuser Tor to the Wall and from Oranienplatz to Heinrichplatz the smell of döner kebab wafts from countless Turkish restaurants.

Through the shop window you can see the cook preparing fried aubergines just like he would do in Anatolia. Shopkeepers have their wares displayed in just the same way as they would do in Turkey too.

Plaster is peeling from the walls of tenement blocks to which no repairs have been carried out for decades. The pockmarked walls bear slogans in Turkish.

Turkish slogans are also daubed on the western side of the Wall at the end of the street. Some call for freedom from fascism and proclaim Down With Nazi Terror!

But walls and telephone booths are also repeatedly pasted with the letters MSP or MHP, the initials of Turkey's two main right-wing extremist parties.

A group known as the Grey Wolves claim allegiance to the MSP, or National Salvation Party. They are, says a Berlin Turk who would prefer his name not to be disclosed, "the SA of Khomeini's Turkish supporters."

Support for them is rapidly growing, he reckons. *Südost-Express*, the newspaper published by the SO 36 group, called for a ban on the Grey Wolves a year ago.

This demand was made when the street fighting between right-wing and left-wing Turks began at the Turkish market on Maybachufer, near Kottbusser Tor.

On Fridays, Turkish housewives, their headscarves pulled well over their faces, converge on the market, pushing prams and accompanied by older children.

Maybachofer used to be a normal Berlin outdoor market, but the weekly market of old now resembles nothing more than an Oriental bazaar.

Rolls of cloth and carpet and gaily coloured knitwear are sold. Turkish men head home with sacks full of onions and potatoes.

"There have long been left-wing and right-wing Turkish shops just as there are left-wing and right-wing bars," says a German woman student who lives in the middle of this largely Turkish district.

The Turks raid each other's premises. One night right-wingers may smash up a left-wing Turkish discotheque. The next it will be the turn of a snack bar where right-wingers congregate.

"We are in for an unpleasant surprise when the next works council elections are held in Berlin next year," says Kona.

In various factories 140 Turks are already members of their works councils. Twenty of them are works c[ouncil] chairmen. Moderate Turks note [with] dismay the way in which right-wi[ng ex]tremists are gaining influence a[mong] among their fellow-countrymen.

The seeds of mistrust have [...] been sowns. Turkish workers alrea[dy sus]pect one works councillor or anot[her of] sympathising with the right-winge[rs].

The political and social climate [has] deteriorated rapidly, and not only a[mong] Turks themselves. There has [...] been the first instance of an anti-[Tur]man handbill being distributed.

In this strident leaflet the Ger[mans] are accused of demoralising Tur[kish] youngsters, especially girls, with [...] loose living. Down with integratio[n, the] leaflet proclaims.

Apakbey, a Turkish social worke[r and] moderate, has this to say: "What [is] bad is that the author, whoever he [may] be, has hit the nail on the head.

"Readiness to integrate has [...] been strictly limited on the Turks' [side] but now conflict is openly raging [in in]dividual families."

Honour and respect are extremely [im]portant among Turks. Children are [ex]pected to respect their parents an[d on] no account must they bring dishc[onour] on the family.

"Now they are contradicting [their] elders, refusing to go back to Tu[rkey,] being alienated from their parents [and,] more particularly, from their fa[milies] back in Turkey, who have com[e to] regard them as Germanised Tu[rks,]" Apakbey says.

Germanised Turk is not a term of [ap]proval. "The Turks may no longer [look] on them as Turks but for the Ge[rmans] Ali remains Ali because he looks [and] speaks differently," says Özcan E[...] who has lived and worked among [Ger]mans for 15 years.

"Integration," he feels, "cannot [be a] one-way street. Not only us Turks [but] the Germans too ought to contr[ibute] towards it."

But the Germans are as unenthus[iastic] about integration as the Turks th[em]selves. "We are tolerant," says Ge[rhard] Keller on behalf of SO 36, his [...] pressure group. But if he were ab[le he] would gladly export Turks from K[reuz]berg.

German residents who were so[...] and financially mobile enough to d[o so] have long since moved out. They d[id so] because living conditions in the d[ilapi]dated tenements were no longer u[p to] standard.

The toilets were on the landing [and] shared by several apartments. The [stair]cases were dank and decaying.

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SPORT

Nerves of steel behind the white ball

Dieter Müller, from Berlin, came third in the 28th European cushion billiards championship at Wedel, a Hamburg suburb.

He was beaten out of the top two positions by two Belgians, Ludo Diells (who won) and Raymond Ceulemans.

Müller has 28 national, seven European and four world championships.

Ceulemans has 36 European and 27 world titles, while Diells has 10 European and three world.

The game at which they are past and present masters is as easily described as it takes years of hard training to achieve perfection in.

In all billiard games the objective is to make your own white ball ricochet against the red and your opponent's white in succession.

Having scored one point in this way, billiard aces go on to make breaks of up to 500, in the most straightforward version of the game.

So greater store is set by playing the cushions. Your white ball has to rebound off the cushion between the opposing white and the red (or vice-versa).

In the Continental game of billiards there are no pockets. Snooker too is unknown.

World class cushion billiard players will score 10 points or more on average per break. So this version of the game is clearly more difficult.

The average break in world championship games is 66.66 points. The longest consecutive break ever recorded was 199 points.

At this level billiards is a top-flight competive sport. The 11,000-odd playing members of clubs affiliated to the West German Billiards Association are at pains to point out that they have nothing to do with bar billiards.

They still have a chip on their shoulders from being associated with the beery, smoke-filled atmosphere of the thousands of bars, especially in the Ruhr, where billiards is a game popularly played over (and for) a round of drinks.

They are not Al Capones strolling into the back room of the bar with their cues, stripped to the waistcoat and with king-sized cigars in the corners of their mouths.

Keen to put paid to these hackneyed clichés, they nowadays try to avoid holding championships in bars; they tend to be held in festival halls and sports arenas.

The school hall was painstakingly prepared by Wedel, the host club, but temperance was very much in evidence for anyone who might have been expecting a blue haze of cigarette smoke and whatever colour one associates with alcohol.

All there was to drink was coffee. Alcohol and tobacco were frowned on. Players were spotlessly dressed, sporting black trousers and waistcoats and white shirts. A boys' choir could hardly have made a more spotless impression.

The Wedel club, established in 1961, has become a stronghold of the game in the north, largely due to the hard work it has put into training youngsters. These European championships were the first major event of the kind it had ever hosted.

In comparison with the west, this part of the country is virtually virgin territory as far as billiards is concerned, comprising only 8 clubs.

Billiards is neither a mass sport nor a game watched by large crowds, and although aficionados would not mind a little more popularity they feel very much at home in their world.

They still feel themselves to be part of an extended family, with the godfathers regularly meeting to cross cues.

The same champions face each other so often that opponents become colleagues, rivals friends and familiar faces light up when they see one another.

They retail the small talk of the game and tell each other the tricks of the trade. Dieter Müller has learnt a great deal from Ceulemans, continues to do so and readily admits to the fact.

Billiards is top-flight competitive sport but played in an atmosphere in which you could hear a pin drop. The hushed audience may just snap their fingers in appreciation of a really fine shot, but that is as far as they will go.

As for the players, they stand at the table, lost to the world as they form geometrical patterns in relation to the ball and the cue, working hard noiselessly and on the spot in their search for the ideal angle.

A tournament can be such hard work that they regularly lose several pounds in weight as they stroll round the table, nerves like whipcords.

The tournament season lasts from September to April, and after 120 days' play Dieter Müller, 37 and a slender, gaunt figure, is happy to call it a day.

Like the others he is an amateur and plays merely for expenses. Like them he has to reconcile the conflicting demands of billiards and the need to earn a living.

He has done so by becoming a restaurateur and owner of a billiards centre in Berlin. His father was a workman in the working class suburb of Neukölln and Müller is conscious of what he owes to the game.

His opponents particularly admire his nerves of steel. Good health is obviously essential; so are good nerves. "You can



Dieter Müller in action (Photo: Wilfried Witters)

be nervous alright," he says, "but no-one must notice it."

Unlike, say, a soccer player, billiards aces are not allowed or expected to let off steam. They must swallow their excitement and keep bland or sombre, but at all events straight, poker faces.

"That," says Müller, "is why the game is such a good school for character."

To judge by the care and attention they pay, you might be excused for imagining that raw eggs are like half-bricks in comparison with these highly polished balls of ivory.

At one point the competitors at Wedel grew uneasy and their play erratic. Eventually someone turned out to have unintentionally fiddled with the air conditioning.

The change in temperature meant a change in humidity and more dust on the balls. They made an entirely different sound as they clicked against each other, not to mention haring erratically across the table.

At night, rumour has it, billiards aces store their balls in an air conditioned room so they can recuperate and grow perfectly round once more.

One wit blandly explains during a break that balls are warmed before a game, just like the table itself is. "Some players sit on them for a day before the tournament starts. I don't go in for that myself; I pop them in my mouth."

Aloys Behler

(Die Zeit, 9 May 1980)

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[...]Turkish family after another moved in [as] neighbours.

"Turks", says Keller, who claims to be tolerant, "ensure a heavy wear and tear on housing."

"There'll be no Turks coming into this block," says the caretaker of a newly renovated tenement on Chamissoplatz in the better part of Kreuzberg. "Their children ruin everything immediately."

For too long nothing was done in Kreuzberg. Now, at last, housing is being renovated. "We have a wide range of urban renewal schemes," says burgomaster Rudi Pietschker.

The first wave of slum clearance gave rise to impassioned protest, but now blocks are being refurbished building by building and back yard by back yard.

But each yard is full of Turks who are successively slum cleared, but not entirely. The Senate has decided that 10 per cent of council flats are to be earmarked for foreign residents.

"This is the moment of truth," says Burgomaster Pietschker, who reckons to be as much a part of Kreuzberg as anyone. He is a former printworker and still believes in integration.

"We are discussing with the Senate how best to out it into practice," he says. Discussions have begun at a time when the Turkish problem in Berlin has assumed alarming proportions.

The new approach to integration is to amount to more than the German-Turkish fun fair on Mariannenplatz. Turks are to be offered an active role in communal politics.

Kreuzberg Social Democrats have already endorsed the idea of allowing Turkish residents both the vote and the right to be elected to the borough council.

The Senate, partly due to consideration for West Germany, is opposed to the idea. The latest idea is for Turks to be associated with local government via borough council committees.

But which Turks? "There is no such thing as a cohesive Turkish national group," Pietschker says. The various right-wing groups line up against at least four left-wing splinter groups.

"Integration optimists should try living here first," says Gerhard Keller bitterly. "Let 'em show us here and now how their ideas work in practice."

Dieter Tasch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 May 1980)

Rare moment in tennis for Düsseldorf

The 10,500 spectators in Düsseldorf for the tennis Nations Cup witnessed an unusual event, a tournament defeat for the world's top player, Björn Borg.

Seldom has Borg, an ice-cold Swede who usually seems to have everything under control, made so many minor errors as in his Düsseldorf decider against Guillermo Vilas of Argentina.

Seldom has he been known to show such lapses in concentration. He totalled six double faults in one match, including four in one set.

Never before can he have lost seven services to his opponent. It really was a most unusual day.

But one unique record remained unbroken. It was held by Vilas, not by the Swedish superstar. In 1977 Vilas was unbeaten in 50 championship finals, eventually losing to Ilie Nastase of Rumania in Aix-en-Provence.

At Düsseldorf he was defending this record against Borg who, had he won, would have equalled the Argentinian's record.

The Swede last lost to Roscoe Tanner of the United States at Flushing Meadow on 6 September 1979. He had since notched up an unbeaten break of 49 finals and was in line for his half-century.

But Vilas was having none of it. He improved his personal tally against Borg to five wins in 17 encounters.

Borg sets little score by "records" of this kind. You can't bank on them. He was as unemotional in defeat as he invariably is in victory.

"True," he conceded with a shrug of the shoulders, "I made more mistakes than usual today. But you can't win 'em all. Some time or other it was bound to happen.

"I felt really tired today. I noticed it before the match. The tough training, the continual contact with so many people and my doubles games (I don't usually go in for doubles) really took it out of me.

"Besides, Guillermo was in great form today." So he decided to take a well-earned rest before going to Paris for the French Open.

"I want to win as many major titles as possible so that one day people can say of me that I was the greatest player of all time," he explains.

He certainly has time, by all accepted standards, since on 6 June he will only 24. In any case, he has already won just about all there is to win in world tennis.

But Vilas can pride himself on having added a Nations Cup win to his collection. He beat Barazzutti of Italy 6-3, 6-2 to clinch matters.

Fellow-countryman Luis Clerc scored a 7-6, 6-3 surprise victory over Adriano Panatta of Italy, so Argentina established a two-nil lead and were sure of overall victory in the Düsseldorf tournament.

Christoph Emmerich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 May 1980)